

“An exploration of male youth’s perceived impact of their involvement in youth gang violence on their educational attainment in Khayelitsha Site B”

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

The overall aim of the study was to explore male youths' perceived impact of their involvement in youth gang violence (YGV) on their educational attainment. A qualitative research design was adapted in this study. A non-probability purposive snowball sampling was adopted in the research. The study used a semi-structured interview schedule as a research tool in conducting in-depth interviews with the respondents. The research respondents were young males between 14 and 20 years, some of whom were high school drop-outs, while some were learners in high school and some had recently completed Grade 12. The findings showed that most of the research participants were negatively impacted by their involvement in YGV. The findings showed that YGV affected their attendance and performance at school. The study further showed that some of the research participants in the study repeated some grades at school and some dropped out of school because of the influence of YGV.

The study also showed that the respondents were keen to further their studies regardless of their involvement in YGV. The respondents recognised the importance of education in their lives in order to fulfil their future goals. The study further indicated that the respondents had no intentions of continuing with YGV, because they wanted to focus on their schooling. They also suggested that young people should not join YGV, because it would destroy their lives, for example by having criminal records, being delayed in their education attainment, and dying very young.

The conclusions drawn from the study are that YGV has negatively impacted the research participants' educational attainment. However, there is still hope for the educational attainment of young people involved in gang violence generally, because of their determination to achieve their goals. Therefore, the recommendations included that there is a need for both mezzo (community) and macro (national) levels of interventions necessary to fight against YGV in marginalized communities such as Khayelitsha Site B. Youth, teachers, parents, members of the community, the Department of Basic Education and the Department of Social Development need to work together to defeat the high rate of YGV in Khayelitsha in general.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this mini-dissertation to God, who saw me through every struggle in my academic progress. I remember when I used to dream of having such an achievement – it was only a dream for me, but You made it a reality. The journey has not been easy and I do not think I would have made it without You this far, Your faith in me surpasses all understanding. There were times I did not want to wake up, felt that I was stagnant with no direction, but You directed my footsteps. You are my inspiration, my reason for waking up every day and see purpose in life and in my academics. Thank you God I know greater is yet to come and You will still be right next to me all the way. I love You so much.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DoBE:	Department of Basic Education
NYDA:	National Youth Development Agency
NYP:	National Youth Policy
R:	Respondent
YGV:	Youth Gang Violence

CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

- **Male youth** refers to young people who are between the ages of 14-18 years supposable enrolling in Grades 8 to 12 at a secondary (high) school. The Department of Basic Education (2010) defines children between the ages of 14-18 years as an appropriate age for the secondary (high) school Grades 8 to 12. In the context of this study it will refer to male youth between 14-21 years of age who are in school and those who dropped-out or recently completed their grade 12.
- **Khayelitsha** is a Xhosa word meaning 'New home'. It is the largest and fastest-growing partially informal black township in Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa (Otter, 2012).
- **Township** refers to an urban residential area created for black migrant labour by apartheid legislation, usually beyond the town or city limits (Census, 2001). In Xhosa informally called 'elokishini'.
- **Sub-location** refers to different smaller units or sections in Khayelitsha, such as Site B refers to a sub-location in Khayelitsha Township.
- **Youth gang violence (YGV)** refers to harmful activities executed by different groups of young people from different sub-locations in a particular community that often result in injuries or death. It is often associated with gang fights.
- **School drop-outs** refers to learners who have left school before completing 12 years of secondary study (McWhirter et al. 2007). In the context of this study it will refer high school learners who leave school before they complete Grade 12.
- **Educational attainment** refers to the accomplishment of education, the highest degree earned; this includes the number of elementary, high school years, university and college completed, prior to graduation (Centre in Society and Health, 2013).
- **Grade** refers to a level of education that the learner is doing while in primary or secondary school.

- **Marginalisation** refers to a community or group of people who have been socially excluded from the mainstream of the society because of status, ethnicity or race differences and accorded lesser importance with no resources to benefit them.
- **Skollies** is an Afrikaans word referring to a group of young people or adults who are involved in criminal activities such as robbing people on the streets for their cash, phones, bags, etc. Also referred to as thugs in this study.
- **Traditional belts** refer to small belts, made by traditional healers that are worn on the arm in the belief that they provide supernatural powers.

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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND AND ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Youth gang violence, especially its effect on society, has drawn media attention in South Africa, particularly in marginalised communities. South Africa has seen a devastating effect of youth gang violence (YGV) in recent times. Though efforts are being made and strategies being adopted by the appropriate bodies and many law-enforcement agencies, the effect is still telling. Gangs in every marginalised society are a reality that needs to be dealt with jointly by the community, civil society, government and other key role players. Furthermore, gang violence is not something new in South Africa, making people live in fear in their everyday lives. The majority of the young people that are involved in gang violence have formed these groupings for certain reasons, ranging from protection, filling the void in their lives or sense of belonging, pride and honour (Esperanza, 2010). The author has observed that when YGV arises a number of people such as family and community members seem to be affected and suffer the consequences; with its widespread influence it has touched even the higher authorities.

This study comprises five chapters: the first one presents contextual background and orientation to the study, the second one presents the literature review conducted on the study focus area, followed by Chapter 3, which presents the research design and methodology that the study adopted. Chapter 4 presents research findings, followed by Chapter 5 with conclusions and recommendations.

This chapter presents the context of research problem area; motivation for conducting the study; the rationale for the study, the significance of the study; the assumptions underlying; overall aim of the research and main research objectives.

1.2 Context of the research problem area

Violence by young people is what has been discussed by the society due to the destruction it causes in affected communities. For example, according to Pinnock (1984), industrialised Third World countries like South Africa has had gangsters, or skollies, for most of the 20th century and Numbers gangs have been known in this country's prisons for nearly a century (Shurink, 1986 as cited in Hagedorn, 2005). There are daily reports in the media on violence by these gangs in schools or by young people on the streets. The growth of gangs seems to suggest that the government and related structures have failed to decrease gang violence in South Africa. Policies in the past which impoverished blacks and encouraged political and social divisions laid the groundwork for such a conflict environment (Kynoch, 1998). The

author has observed that the socio-economic conditions confronting South Africa, such as poverty, inequality, unemployment, chaotic families and poor education facilities, have played a big role in promoting social unrest. The Department of Community Safety report (2008) states that most of the gang members are school children who have been recruited by older gang members, which has created chaos within schools.

The high rate of poverty and inequality in South Africa has resulted in severe hardship and stress for those affected, who are mostly young people under the age of 30. In South Africa as well in other developing countries, poverty is greatly connected to the high income inequality, unemployment and lack of access to basic services (Mbuli, 2008). In terms of inequality, South Africa is amongst the worst in the world, with a 0.70% Gini Coefficient (Transformation Audit, 2012). As a resident in Khayelitsha, the author observed that poor- quality education in marginalised communities seems to have caused youth to see no value in education; hence they get involved in activities like YGV. Graham et al. (2010) noted that for young people to establish their identity, they need to forge close identification with particular groups. They further state that, where young people are not able to access positive social capital or empowering social networks, they often become more vulnerable to high risk behaviour (Graham et al. 2010). This marginalisation of young people in societies can increase their vulnerability and heighten their exposure to or involvement in YGV, (Graham et al. 2010). The danger posed by youth gang violence in Khayelitsha township brings a major threat to the socio-economic stability and advancement of our national development. News24 (06 September 2012) reported that YGV was of great concern to the government and other stakeholders in general. Hence, the author felt that it is important to explore and identify factors which contribute to YGV and analyse their impact on the lives of young people including their educational attainment. The author further views the long term strategies that will help young people from such communities to achieve their goals so as to contribute to the economy of South Africa.

1.3 Rationale for the study

The motivation behind this study comes from both personal and academic factors. As a person who grew up in Khayelitsha, the author has witnessed how high school learners have made the township a war zone, which has led to the killing of young boys every weekend. The author has lost a sibling in YGV and further observed a pain of a single parent who lost a son because of YGV. As an emerging researcher, the author has an interest in youth development in South African township schools, where she personally feels that young people in these schools are predisposed to involvement in YGV.

The author has witnessed the daily media reports, such as newspapers (Business Day: 31 January 2014), television programmes (Cutting Edge: 13 February, 2014) and (eNCAnews: 09 November 2012), and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) like Equal Education (19 July 2012), repeatedly revealing the great concern about YGV in Khayelitsha. It would seem to the author that YGV requires urgent intervention from different stakeholders. The high rate of YGV in Khayelitsha is a major concern to the entire community. The gang violence involves young people between the ages of 12 and 21, who live in different sub-locations in Khayelitsha Township. Youths from one sub-location have been brutally killing their opponents from the other sub-locations, seemingly for unknown reasons. This has led to increased fear surrounding safety and security within the community and in schools in Khayelitsha. As a result it would seem that secondary school learners are unable to attend school, leading to low rate of attendance and high rate of drop-outs. Furthermore, it would seem the members of the community cannot move freely in these sub-locations. Attempts by the community members, taxi business owners and police services to deal with YGV seem to have proven unsuccessful. Therefore, YGV presents a serious social problem which warrants scientific investigation. The author aims to contribute to the existing literature on YGV with a hope of proposing practical interventions on how YGV can be addressed to minimise its impact on the youth educational attainment.

1.4 Potential value of the study

Youth gang violence is one of the most noticeable social problems in most marginalised townships in Cape Town. Taking an integrated view of social exclusion allows us to explore and understand processes whereby young people from marginalised communities remain methodically unable to participate in and benefit from services provided for them. Haralambos and Holborn (2008) define social exclusion as a multidimensional process in which various forms of exclusion are combined, such as the opportunity to quality education and employment. Thus, urgent intervention is needed in meeting the needs of the excluded, which would involve a well-planned long-term change and the participation of young people against YGV. This in particular suggests viewing the education system as interlinked with wider community development. This development includes relationships between young people, families and teachers. Hence, the author believes that there is a great deal that needs to be done to contribute to reducing YGV in schools and in the community at large.

1.5 Overall aim and specific objectives of the study

The overall aim of the study was to explore the male youth's perceived impact of their involvement in YGV on their educational attainment. Therefore, eighteen (18) male youths from Khayelitsha Site B who were actively involved in YGV were interviewed in depth so as to explore the following:

1. Their goals in life;
2. Whether they associate their goals in life with educational attainment;
3. Their motivation for getting involved in youth gang violence;
4. Their views on the role of the community in promoting youth gang violence in Khayelitsha;
5. Their perceived benefits, if any, for their involvement in youth gang violence;
6. Their regrets, if any, for their involvement in youth gang violence; and
7. Their future intentions regarding getting involved in youth gang violence.

The following chapter provides a literature review relevant to this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will firstly present a discussion on the theoretical frameworks of the study. Secondly, a general background of gang violence and its current state in South Africa will be discussed. Thirdly, a brief background on the involvement of young people in YGV and the impact it has on their (youth) education will be discussed. Lastly, education and employment aspirations of the youth will be discussed, as well as the relationship between the community and young people, followed by an analysis of key youth legislations, programmes and policies.

2.2 Theoretical approaches

Social exclusion, social inclusion and human development theoretical frameworks have been considered for discussion, because they seem relevant to the study. These theories focus on the importance of young people's participation in the economic and human development of a country. The capability approach believes that people are cut from mainstream systems when freedoms including education are not made available, which result in social ills (Sen, 1999).

2.2.1 Social Exclusion Theory

Social exclusion is "a dynamic process of being shut out from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society" (Walker & Walker, 1997:8). In simpler terms, social exclusion is when people are deprived of resources that can enhance their standard of living. Lack of resources puts people, including young people, in positions where they are unable to contribute to, and benefit from the wealth of the society, and hence, unable to better their lives (Hilker & Fraser, 2009). Many factors often lead young people to be socially excluded from participating in the economy such as lack of education and unemployment (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008; Klassen, 1998). It is evident that the young people are socially excluded, in terms of resources, knowledge and skills. When this happens, their perception towards life is a negative one, becoming early school drop-outs and lacking employment (Leornardos, 1999). South African youth face similar socio-economic challenges which often lead to frustration, sense of hopelessness and thus somehow contribute in the misbehaviour of young people.

For young people who reside in communities like Khayelitsha, it seems to be difficult for them to continue with school and attain better education results due to the negative environment that they live in. The

author has observed that Khayelitsha is one of the socially excluded communities lacking resources with quite a number of male school drop-outs. Young people between the ages of 15-34 make up 18, 7 million of the total population, of which 83% is black African youth (Statistics South Africa, 2011). It is therefore logical to argue that most black African youth experience poverty and exclusion in South Africa, which could be the driving force of the gang violence that has taken its toll in marginalised communities. According to Boqwana (2009:17), “When children from poor families gave up, lost hope, felt powerless and frustrated with the inequality that pervaded their lives, they became violent and they certainly formed gang groups as a way of expressing these feelings”. Hence the author believes that including young people in the mainstream of the economy is vital for the development of the country.

2.2.2 Social Inclusion Theory

Social inclusion is the opposite of social exclusion, which plays a role of including those who are excluded in a certain community. The Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2010) stated that “the achievement of social inclusion goes beyond the elimination of poverty, it requires that the broader issue of social exclusion be addressed”. Hence, this theory expects everyone to be active participants in society, regardless of the different groups, which are: race, language, culture, gender, disability, social status, age. The barriers of social inclusion are at times physical accessibility to those who are physically disabled; however, most of time the barriers are intangible, which precludes people from their rights, responsibilities and duties in the society. These groups of people are mostly likely to face low education and unemployment, resulting in marginalisation and social exclusion. Social inclusion is thus an attempt to re-integrate or increase the participation for marginalised groups within mainstream goals (Barry, 1998 as cited in Pease, 2009). Collins (2003) defines it as a principle of justice, as it concentrates on absolute disadvantage of particular groups in society in securing a minimum level of welfare for every citizen. Child poverty, unemployed youth, or racial minorities in deprived neighbourhoods, not a more general equalisation of welfare, are the targeted groups (Collins, 2003). Social inclusion is when all people have the opportunity and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social, and cultural activities which are considered the societal norm. Based on this the government is still a long way from achieving that social inclusion because of the high rate of inequality in the country, with the Gini-coefficient of 0.70% (Transformation Audit, 2012).

Social inclusion theory is about supportive relationships, involvement in group activities and civic engagement, where people in the society feel valued, their differences are respected, and their basic needs are met so they can live in dignity (Victorian Health Promotion Foundation Annual Report, 2005 – 2006). Poverty divides people and social inclusion can unite people. Inclusion demands goals and policies that

avoid separating the society. Social inclusion has considerable potential to improve our understanding of social issues and policies. A concerted effort should be made to make social inclusion viable in South Africa in order to have a sustainable human development.

2.2.3 Human Development Theory

Human development is the process of increasing opportunities for the people and enhancing their standard of living (Sen, 1999). In South Africa, human development seeks to improve the quality of life for the poor through promoting human rights and ensuring political and social freedoms (Davids et al. 2009). This theory is used to enhance cooperation among people and stress partnerships for joint action. Lundberg and Wuermli (2012) state that, in terms of human capabilities there are many pathways or transmission mechanisms, through which a crisis can affect the well-being and development of a young person. This can be financially or psychologically experienced, directly or indirectly, through the family or other changes in the environment. In simple terms, human development advocates for participation and involvement of young people in all aspects of development.

The application of human rights and development to policy promotes human security, which focuses on protecting the vital core of human lives and protecting freedoms of people. Likewise, the capability approach stipulates that development involves the expansion of human capabilities. Thus, access to education, health care and employment provides an opportunity for people to be agents of their own development and that of others (Sen, 1999). Expanding coverage and service provision, enhanced redistribution and inclusion, increased mobilisation of domestic resources, and efforts to address structural inequalities and strengthening social rights have been acknowledged (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2013). The capability approach to social policy builds on the basic needs to meet people's survival needs. It is the capability approach that the human rights approach builds on and contributes to social policy. There are a number of initiatives, like policies, legislations and programmes that have been put in place for young people in order to address social ills (gangsterism) in South Africa. However, in this study, we discussed and analysed few current intervention strategies for YGV. The next paragraph will discuss gang violence in general and its context in South Africa. The study was mainly concentrated on one of the South African communities (Khayelitsha), in the Western Cape Province, Cape Town.

2.3 Gang violence in general

Violent activities provide some kind of emotional fulfilment to its members, they will spend their time collecting weapons and planning their activities (Siegal & Senna, 2000). Violence by young people is a common subject of discussion due to the destruction caused in affected communities. There are daily reports in the media on violence by these gangs in schools or by young people on the streets and the main victims and offenders of such violence. When gang violence takes place it acts as a catalyst for large-scale gang fighting: an act of winning or losing the battle against your opponents is evident in 'fighting' or 'hurting' someone resulting in relative recognition and self-assertion (Burnett, 1999). Jansen (2008 as cited in Wijnberg, 2012:32) explains that the "interactions with gang members will often involve gang members showing their stab wounds or battle scars (which) are regarded as symbols of their invincibility and strength". According to a *Cape Times* report, "Lavender Hill and Hanover Park, on the Cape Flats, were the hotspots for gang violence and rivalry, with 17 deaths in the two areas in the six weeks" (News24, 06 July 2012:1). Graham et al. (2010) asserted that for young people to establish their identity, they need to forge close identification with particular groups. They further state that, where young people are not able to access positive social capital or empowering social networks, they often become more vulnerable to high risk behaviour (Graham, et al. 2010). This marginalisation of young people in societies can increase their vulnerability and heighten their exposure to or involvement in violence (Graham et al. 2010).

2.4 Background to the gang system in South Africa

The history of gangs dates back to the early 1900s in South Africa, where it started in prisons (Pinnock, 1984). Furthermore, Kinnes (1995), Pinnock (1985) and Schärf (1990), as cited in Van Wyk & Theron (2005), argued strongly that gang violence in the Western Cape had its roots in the apartheid government that ruled prior to 1994 (Van Wyk & Theron, 2005). Burnett (1999:9) discovered that "violent behavior was justified as a measure of paying the others back for the blood that had already been shed, despite discussions about peace, hatred ran deeply, and but taking revenge, power and superiority were demonstrated". Available literature shows that the Western world has had an influence in the development of gang violence in most developing countries and South Africa is no exception (Kynoch, 1998). According to the Department of Community Safety (2008) report, the number of deaths that gang members are responsible for is debatable, as researchers have often differed on the precise number of deaths attributed to gangs. Furthermore, huge number of young people in communities such as those on the Cape Flats and Khayelitsha has played a part in the gang activities. The forced relocation of nearly 700 000 Coloured and African families between 1950 and 1982 from the inner city areas around Cape Town to

the area now known as the Cape Flats, favoured the spread of gang violence (Pinnock, 1985 as cited in Van Wyk and Theron, 2005). According to the study done by Burnett (1999) about ‘gang violence as a survival strategy in the context of poverty in Davidsonville’, the research findings showed that the boys’ gangs formed territorial groups that they did not allow anyone who does not belong, to trespass and that was their primary goal. She further explains that “they demarcated their territory in their own residential area and if a member of another gang trespassed on their turf he was punished violently” (Burnett, 1999:6). The table below shows the number of deaths from 2002-2007 in the age cohorts 15-24 and 25-34 in South Africa (Graham et al. 2010).

Table 1: Number of deaths from 2002 - 2007 in South Africa (Graham et al. 2010)

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007
15 to 24-year-olds	Violence 56%	Violence 58%	Violence 51%	Violence 52%	Violence 48%
25 to 34-year-olds	Violence 56%	Violence 56%	Violence 48%	Violence 49%	Violence 44%

Though the statistics date back to 2007 and show a decreasing trend in violence, it remains a major barrier to the development of young people in South Africa. The lives of these young people are being inhibited by violence both in their families and community and they also experience more dropouts and failure at school. The society faces the same social ill of violence. Violent crimes have been known to occur most frequently in poor, marginalised Black and Coloured township areas (Ward et al. 2012). According to Boqwana (2009:17), “When children from poor families gave up, lost hope, felt powerless and frustrated with the inequality that pervaded their lives, they became violent and they certainly formed gang groups as a way of expressing these feelings”. Similarly, these young people may take on a group identity to identify themselves and also to be identified by others, as gangs (Short Jr., 1996). The table below indicates some of the famous notorious gang names that emerged out of America and Britain.

Table 2: Notorious gang names (Murphy, 1991:1)

America	Britain
Candy State Kids	Back Street Kids
Fancy Boys	Bad Boys
Young Americans	British Boys

Despite all the positive and negative post-apartheid changes in South Africa, young people are still faced with many barriers to social inclusion. Although the transition to democracy in South Africa took place, in 1994, the legacy of racial, gender and urban/rural inequality inherited from the policies of the former government had a negative impact on the living conditions of certain sectors of the population (Sekwati & Hirschowitz, 2001). The challenges that the youth are facing force them to be involved in social-ills that will increase their problems instead of decreasing the unfavourable conditions, and most of them are from the marginalised communities. These marginalised communities are socially excluded from the basic services such as water and electricity, the provision of housing, and access to education, health-care and employment.

The social ills in these communities create an upper hand for the gang leaders to continue with their activities, because most of the time these gangs do charity work in their respective communities. A typical example is the Manenberg community in Cape Town. This community benefits from the gang activities such as sponsoring sports team (Legget, 2005; Ward et al., 2012). According to Lundahl and Peterson (2004), the South African vision of democracy is far from being one and the same; the different groups in the rainbow nation have their own dreams. Furthermore, almost every citizen shares the vision of a society founded on democratic principles with equal opportunities for everyone to have a share (Lundahl & Peterson, 2004).

According to Kynoch (1998), gang violence in cities in different provinces in South Africa such as Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Durban, Kimberly, Port Elizabeth and Pretoria have been in the news and other press reports since the 1950s and they received extensive coverage even in the post-apartheid years. The problem has lingered on in most cities in South Africa where the population of young people is mostly high. Some cities such as Kimberly, Port Elizabeth and Pretoria, have tolerated the impact of gang violence and drug abuse over the last ten years, which has resulted in the increase of youth violence (Department of Community Safety Report, 2008). Although gang violence seems to be particularly

problematic in the Western Cape compared to other provinces in South Africa, it is argued that crime in general is typical of societies going through transition phase (Dixon, 2002 as cited in Van Wyk and Theron, 2005).

Murphy (1991) was of the opinion that more than two decades, South Africa is a structural violent society, with only a small minority of Whites reaping economic, political and social rewards by denying the needs of the Black majority via apartheid. The Special Assignment Report (28 August 2007) described gang violence as a marathon activity which has challenged community members, police services with little improvement in solving the problem especially in the Western Cape.

2.5 Current situation of gang violence in South Africa

In the early 1900s gangs were formed to create some sort of power resolution by adults in different locations. This was not personal but a business venture meant to settle a score with an opponent (Pinnock, 1984). Gangs have taken on a different form in the 21st century; different groups of young people have redefined roles that started earlier for rather irrational reasons. Although drugs have contributed to gang violence, for young people fashion trends also play a part in the rise in violence. The majority of gang violence is associated with marginalised communities that are excluded from social services, and this exclusion often leads to frustration which results in violence, with young people taking the lead. Salagaev (2003, cited in World Youth Report, 2003) explains that although detailed Africa-specific data are not available, there has been an increase in youth crime in all parts of the world, with the exception of the United States in the 1990s. Besides, the number of young people who committed crimes rose from 80 million in 1992 to 150 million in 2000 (State of the African Youth Report, 2011). This indicates that youths are more involved in crime than ever and it is not likely to change any time soon. It is generally assumed that some of the youth offenders tend to be involved in certain kind of offences, as they start to develop their criminal activities (Gxubane, 2012) such as gang violence. For example, some of the young people steal from their families and teachers and that might result in them being rejected by their families or expelled from school (Sefali, 2014).

2.6 Why young people join in gang violence

The plague of YGV in Khayelitsha is a matter of urgency. There are daily reports about young people found dead in certain areas of the community in school uniform. These reports appear in local newspapers (Phakathi, 2014) and electronic media, about high level of gang-related activities in township schools and within the community (Cutting Edge: 13 February, 2014). Sefali (2014) reported that young people

involved in gang violence fight to kill with pangas, knives and using their hands; they do not even know what caused the fights, and they do not care.

Aggressive behaviour among males between the ages of 6 and 13 is likely to persist into adulthood. This illustrates that South Africa faces a crisis with regards to involvement in violence by young people (Hawkins et al., 2000 as cited in Ward et al. 2012). There are many reasons that develop youth gang violence membership, some of the reasons are mentioned by the National Crime Prevention Council (n.d.). Young people join gang violence for personal reasons such as drugs, power and recognition; another reason is peer pressure, friends who are members of the gang. Other reasons include the family conditions, lack of family support, no role model, lack of school achievement, community turmoil, experience of poverty, feeling threatened in the neighbourhood (National Crime Prevention Council, n.d); also a sense of belonging, for young people to establish their identity they need to forge close identification with particular groups, (Graham, Bruce & Perold, 2010). Moreover, young people who are not able to access positive social capital or empowering social networks, often become more vulnerable to high risk behaviour. Hence, the marginalisation of young people in societies can therefore increase their vulnerability and heighten their exposure to, or involvement in violence (Graham, Bruce & Perold, 2010). Mncube and Harber (2013:1) argue that “these incidents underline the extent of violence and crime we experience in our communities, which generally impacts negatively on education and what happens in the school in particular”.

2.7 An impact of youth gang violence in educational attainment

According to Legget (2005), children start being involved in gangs at the early age of 12 years and particularly boys in South Africa. Some of these boys join gang violence when they are between the ages of 14 and 21, the age at which they are supposed to be in high school or starting higher education. However, as the author observed, most of the young people that are involved in gang violence activities are likely to be delayed in terms of their educational attainment. Some studies have shown that those mostly affected are those coming from socially excluded communities such as Khayelitsha. Financial challenges, the engagement of young people in social ills and lack of support at home result in young people disengaging from their education and eventually dropping out of school (Strassburg et al. 2010 as cited in Department of Basic Education report, 2011).

Through the experience of the author living in a marginalised community, the majority of young people walk to and from school no matter how long the distance is from their homes. This might hold a threat to their educational attainment, because their lives are at risk. Another example is the lack of transport

opportunities that are affordable in order to get learners to and from school, being another hindrance to education, especially due to the fact that most households in poor communities live on very little income due to unemployment or low wages (Klassen, 1998; NYP, 2009-2014; Ward, 2009). According to Chapman and Sawyer (2001 as cited in Chen, 2008: 8) “a number of extra-personal or environmental factors may put students at a greater risk to drop out of high school, yielding direct and indirect negative impact on these high-risk students' personal/social, academic, and career development experiences”. The child's environment plays a role in influencing the behaviour of the child. For example, school is a second home that helps children to realise who they are and learn a few tricks about life, but if the environment in the school is not positive, that could damage the development of the child. Mncube and Harber (2013: 4) argue that “school should be a safe environment that encourages effective teaching and learning, while violence in schools is a global problem”. For instance, schools in marginalised communities such as Khayelitsha are in a terrible state, as some schools do not even have proper toilets, electricity, desks and chalkboards (National Planning Commission, 2011).

2.8 Youth educational aspirations

Robinson-Easley (2012) notes that some of the young people that are involved in gang violence still have aspirations to complete schooling. According to Lewin and Mawoyo (2014:51), “schooling plays a central role in preparing students for university and in South Africa the poor quality of the majority of public schools is now widely acknowledged”. Schools need to accommodate everyone, which means being structured in such a way that it enables people to learn in different ways in order to pursue countless paths to reach their educational goals (Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990 as cited in Spergel 1995).

2.8.1 Education system in South Africa

The author as a resident in Khayelitsha has observed that the South African education system has slightly changed compared to pre-1994. However, there is a lot that still needs to be addressed when it comes to education inequality. The South African government is investing a lot when it comes to education; every year the budget goes up to improve the standard of education. The Ministry of Finance (2014) declared that they increased their expenditure for free education to R8.8 billion. The government has not only increased its budget for free education, but it has also used 20% (R254 billion) of its budget to increase access to schooling and improve infrastructure in schools, and is planning to build 433 new schools in the next three years (South African Government News Agency, 26 February 2014). However, the education system is still faced with many challenges and only a few of those who are really in need are getting

service delivery, especially the young people. The 'Bill of Rights' states that everyone has a right to equal education (South African Bill of Rights, 2012). The author has observed that only a few households from marginalised communities have the privilege of taking their children to the right schools for better education. The increased budget might seem to be a good step to a better education for the marginalised youth or children, but they are still faced with access to higher education.

2.8.2 Bridging the gap between high school and higher education

A number of children enter high school every year, the national average enrolment in 2002-2009 was 82% (Department of Basic Education (DoBE), 2010). The DoBE Annual Report (2012/2013) showed that the education status has improved compared to other years: in terms of Grade 12 results of 2012, the number of learners passed has increased (74%). However, out of 74% learners that passed Grade 12 from public schools in 2012, only 27% passed with qualification for Bachelor degree studies at university (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2013). The question that could be asked is that "is it about quantity or quality of education", observing the lower standard pass rate of Grade 12 in public schools. Although, the education system of South Africa has changed, many young people are struggling to get admission to higher education. Bloch (2009: 25) notes that "Education in South Africa as it stands today continues to reproduce inequalities in society, inequalities that threaten the solidity and comforts of all young people".

The standard of tertiary education might be higher for those from township schools or township schools produce learners that are not qualified to enter tertiary institutions. The author has observed that the majority of young people from township schools who have passed Grade 12 are unlikely to get to tertiary institutions due to their poor results. Of young black South Africans between the ages of 20-24 only 14.3% participated in higher education in 2011 (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2013). From the author's experience, the quality of education in marginalised township schools is poor compared to schools in the urban areas. Hence, some learners struggle to meet the higher education admission requirements, because they were never prepared for it. According to Sen's philosophical perspective, access to education is regarded as the real opportunity that enables a person to live a life that he/she chooses and on reflection has reason to value. However, Lewin and Mawoyo (2014) note that the poor quality of most public schools in South Africa tends to discourage learners from completing their studies.

The DoBE has expressed concern about the high percentage of learners between the ages of 14-18 who are not at school (DoBe, 2010). This department has struggled to determine the schools' drop-out rate of children, until the recent National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) that has proved to be a useful source

for this indicator (DoBe, 2011). Males from the age of 14 to 18 years entered secondary school, compared to females of the same age, between 2002 and 2008 as illustrated by the table below:

Table 3: Enrolment of 14-18 year olds in education institutions, 2002-2008

Years	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
14-18 year old females (%)	85.9	86.5	87.2	86.6	87.1	88.8	88.7
14-18 year old males (%)	89.3	89.5	89.9	90.0	88.9	90.0	89.6
Total (%)	87.7	88.1	88.6	88.4	88.1	89.4	89.2

Source: Statistics South Africa, General Household Survey 2002-2008 (DoBE, 2010).

Out of 9% of learners enrolled in schools in 2009 were repeaters and mostly drop-out rate is between Grades 9 and 11 (DoBE, 2011). According to the South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996), children from the ages of 7 to 15 years should be at school. However, this does not mean that children who are beyond those ages should be out of school, especially when there is still a need to complete their studies. The government has placed emphasis on the importance of education, that a child should not be denied access to schooling (DoBE, 2013). Education is one of the key factors to unlock the future of many of the South Africans (National Youth Policy (2009-2014). It can be argued that the majority of young people who are not in school are those from the socially excluded communities. The Ministry of Education Progress Report (2007) mentioned that single-parent households were one of the contributors to school drop-outs. The family breakdown may include parental conflict, at-risk adults who become parents and function as the antagonist in their children’s upbringing (Capuzzi & Gross, 2008; Franklin, 1992; Whiston & Keller, 2004 as cited in Chen, 2008). This may therefore contribute to youths’ involvement in gang violence.

Violence by young people has been one of the common issues that people talk about in black townships and is where most young people drop out of school. Some of these young people involved in gang violence drop out of school, because they spend some time in prison, but not for a long period. The Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 and Regulations argue that children between the ages of 18 and 21 years should be granted some provision when they have committed an offence when under the age of 18 years. This somehow contributes to the misbehaviour of the youth involved in gang violence, because they know that they may get away it.

The National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) (2011) having recognised the high population rate of young people and their vulnerability, education has been recognised as one of the support systems on which youth interventions should be focused in preventing youth from being involved in criminal activities such as violence. Poor economic conditions such as unemployment and lack of social services and support, especially in marginalised communities such as Khayelitsha, have provoked a gap for vulnerable youth to get involved in gang violence. It can be argued that the education system in poor communities is a repetition of poverty and social exclusion in the sense that youth are served with poor quality education, so leave school early with poor skills and qualifications, which prevents them from gaining access to higher education, starting their own businesses or be employed. Chen (2008) explored the possibilities of dealing with the issue of high school dropout, which required a close look at the utilisation of more effective career guidance and career education strategies that could help students to complete their schooling. This may give young people a clear picture of what they would like to do once they complete their studies.

Furthermore, observing the lack of access to various opportunities and, information in particular is what prevents many young people from succeeding in life. For instance, if young people can be aware of Further Education and Training Colleges (FETCs) this could help them to further explore their skills. According to Motimele et al. (2011) FETCs were established as an alternative to increase education qualifications and skills development among young people who do not qualify or who do not want to be in the formal system of education. The candidate at least must have grade 9 or level 4 of the National Qualification Framework (NQF) and therefore, be holders of the General Education and Training Certificate (GETC) (Further Education and Training Act, 1998).

2.9 Employment aspirations

Marginalised youth have high hopes for work and they would like to pursue careers as teachers, social workers, photographers, business people and farmers (Keenan, 2007), but that is still difficult in terms of job opportunities. South Africa has almost 2.8 million youth aged between 19-24 years who are not in school and not in employment (Motimele et al. 2011). Young people still have employment aspirations regardless of their involvement in social ills such as gang violence. This has put the South African government on its toes to provide employment opportunities for young people. According to Booyens and Crause (2012:261), “young people who drop out of school without a Grade 12 who are unable to access non-academic skills training opportunities and are not employed are in a position of education and employment exclusion”. When young people aspire to a change in their lives, they should be given

opportunities that will enable them to have a positive living rather than being involved in gang violence. This clearly shows that the government should not be the only role player in helping young people: we also need to ask the role of the community in empowering youth. Fair access to resources at all levels of society is essential for enabling environments for empowerment. Social, economic and political empowerment should be equal at all levels in order for policies to link to people's needs and interests.

2.10 The relationship between the community and young people

Society shapes young people's lives in a number of ways, in some instances, however, these ways can be excluding to some members of society, mostly youth. According to Ward et al. (2012:6), "there is much that can be done to address the issue of gang violence, the nation has the resources and will to work with young people". Keeping young people in school and enrolled in positive activities when the school day ends by providing proper resources, which could minimise the chances of them joining gang violence helps them to be agents of change rather than threats in the society. A community that is united and practises 'ubuntu' is more likely to develop than a community that works separately (Brennan et al. 2009). Dass-Brailsford (2005) asserted that a goal orientation, family support and role models, and supportive schools and communities help young people to their academic success, whilst living in unfavourable circumstances. According to Inglis (2009:37), "living in such high-risk communities (Khayelitsha) combined with individual characteristics, such as aggression, anxiety and other effective problems, could encourage learners to participate in self-destructive behavior". The majority of people in the townships accept gang activities among young people as an initiation phase to adulthood, while others associate themselves with gangs in order to gain favours from them (Boqwana, 2009). Most of these young males believe bad behaviour which they see on media, such as that of the Mafia, is a 'cool thing', not knowing it is leading to the negative impact in their lives, especially when the community is doing nothing to end the menace.

It would seem to the author that few of those involved in youth in gang violence are able to quit from it. However, the author observed that most of the time the community members reject these young people and treat them like outsiders in the community. According to Shearar and Graser (2005 as cited in Gxubane, 2012:160) "youth stigmatized by their past offences feel that, if they are not accepted in the community, crime is their only option". This may result in youth involved in gang violence relocating to other places as an alternative for change (Robinson-Easley, 2012). Furthermore, Booyens and Crause (2012:271) add that "fewer youth will 'fall through the cracks' if there are youth-inclusive networks at community and broader levels, assessing and responding to the challenges faced by young people as they

negotiate key life transitions”. This leads us to the next discussion which will focus on the interventions in dealing with YGV.

2.11 Current intervention for dealing with youth gang violence in South Africa

Sefali (2014) found that some of the taxi drivers have tried to stop YGV in Khayelitsha but they could not do so and they also feared for the lives of their loved ones. In some instances, police offer temporary protection for the residents, which Burnett (1999) discovered in her study when the community sought police intervention against gang violence. Hence, strategic interventions aimed at dealing with youth violence in Khayelitsha need to address the vulnerability of young people and the causes of vulnerability to gang violence. The vulnerability of young people to participate in gang violence needs to be addressed through encouragement and awareness of gang violence.

Policies that deal with young people should at all times arrange their programmes through education, skills training, livelihoods and civic engagement, which are documented in the National Youth Policy (2009-2014). South African youth, like any other youth in the world, face multiple challenges such as poverty, unemployment and inequality and hence the government has to put in place a number of programmes and policies. These initiatives are discussed in order to provide an understanding of what their existence means to the young people and the current situation of gang violence in South Africa. First, we briefly look at the National Youth Policy (2009-2014) and the Prevention of Organised Crime Act (No. 121 of 1998) of South Africa in order to understand their role to the threat of violence amongst young people.

2.11.1 National Youth Policy (NYP, 2009-2014)

The National Youth Policy is one of the important policies which form part of the broader initiative by the NYDA (NYP, 2009-2014). This policy is overseen by the Presidency and has different sections focusing on different groups of young people such as those who are out of school (NYP, 2009-2014). It aims at identifying gaps in current policy and proposes policy deliberate interventions, addresses the continuous needs of the youth by focusing on areas where extra action is required and ensures that youth development is mainstreamed into programmes run by different key role players. Furthermore, this policy regards education as a key to unlocking the future of young South Africans and identifies main issues in terms of youth education that need extra attention (NYP, 2009-2014). The NYP (2009-2014) notes that if these young people (gangsters) are provided with second-chance opportunities that appropriately support and encourage them, they could become an asset to themselves, their families and society at large.

2.11.2 Prevention of Organized Crime (Act No. 121 of 1998)

This Act was formulated to introduce measures to combat organised crime, money laundering and criminal gang activities to prohibit certain activities relating to disturbing activities and to provide for the prohibition of money laundering and for an obligation to report certain information (Prevention of Organized Crime Act No. 121 of 1998). This Act is part of the 'state of emergency' call that was declared in the Western Cape, with the South African Defence Force to defuse gang violence in many Cape Flats townships. The main purpose of this Act is to punish those who have been associated with illegal actions which killed the main purpose of solving this menace in South Africa. Other South African strategic interventions in fighting gang violence are summarised and listed in Appendix A.

Lack of resources such as poor skills, low incomes, lack of information, and poor households are a dominant problem that has negative contributing factors, especially on the youth in socially excluded communities like those in Khayelitsha (Ward, 2009). The high level of poverty has led to early school leaving, alcohol and drug abuse, and gang violence among the youth as discussed in this chapter. When these issues become common, they regenerate poverty and unemployment because people lack abilities and cannot participate in mainstream system of development as they are uneducated and uninformed. Therefore, this requires much effort and urgent interventions in order to find solutions to problems and thereby bring hope to the youth. The next chapter focuses on the research design and methodology that the study adopted.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section discusses in detail the following aspects of research design and methodology that have been adopted in this study: the research design, targeted research population group, sampling strategy, method of gaining consent from respondents, research tool, data collection strategy, research apparatus, data analysis, and data verification as well as the ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

3.2 Research Design

According to Mouton (2001) research design is a plan to investigate the research question and to make sense of the data gathered in a scientific manner. This study used a qualitative approach in gathering data. This design is selected because of its emphasis on studying human action in a natural setting and through the eyes of the actors themselves (Babbie & Mouton, 2001), with contextual description and direct quotations from research participants while in quantitative research design the purpose is to test hypotheses, look at cause and effect, and make predictions which focus on numbers or quantities (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). Qualitative design helps to explore and gain insight into innovative issues and to investigate hard-to-reach groups to determine how they interpret their daily experiences (Engel & Schutt, 2010). The main aim of this research was to get into the depth of what high school-males between the ages of 14 to 21 in Khayelitsha Site B really think about their involvement in YGV and the perceived impact on their educational attainment. De Vos et al. (2011) further explains that qualitative research focuses on carrying out complete examination of cases that arise in particular social contexts, with the subjective exploration of reality from the perspective of the insider.

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Population

According to Polit and Hungler (1999), the research population is the totality of all the objects, subjects or individuals that conform to a set of specifications. The research respondents were drawn from one set of population. The author targeted male high school learners between the ages of 14 to 21 years who are and/or were involved in YGV in Khayelitsha. The reason that the author chose specifically Khayelitsha Site B was that it is one of the communities in which YGV dominates. This target population group was

selected for this study because the author believed that it would offer rich insights to the research focus area.

3.3.2 Sampling strategy

The study used non-probability purposive sampling, because the researcher had a specific purpose for conducting this study. Purposive sampling involves locating individuals with specific characteristics as specified by the researcher (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). The researcher used a snowball sampling for the study, in which the identified participants helped the researcher to identify other participants that meet the criteria of the study for the purpose of obtaining a non-probability sample (Katz, 2006). The author chose snowball sampling, because the selected criteria was difficult to find and very secretive about their whereabouts.

The author was hoping to interview at least twenty (20) male youth between the ages of 14 to 21 years in Khayelitsha, who were involved in YGV. The twenty (20) sample size was selected for this study because the researcher believed twenty (20) would be sufficient for achieving the purpose of the study. However, due to the difficulties of getting participants meeting the selection criteria, the researcher was able to get eighteen (18) respondents, which were deemed sufficient for achieving the purpose of the study. The sample was made up of young males between 14 and 20 years from Khayelitsha Site B.

3.3.3 Method of gaining consent with respondents

The researcher approached youth involved in gang violence seven months before the study. According to Babbie and Mouton (2007), there are strategic ways which the researcher can use in order to establish initial contact with the people the researcher wishes to study. Hence, the researcher negotiated the consent of the study through informal discussions with former and active YGV members, in order to gain trust before starting the research. During the informal consultation with them, the young people were outspoken about their views on their involvement in YGV. Although it was difficult to gain access to the participants, the researcher managed to penetrate the circle of gang members. The former YGV member that was supposed to introduce the researcher to 20 high school-aged males who were part of YGV in Khayelitsha, disappeared a week before the interviews took place.

As an alternative, the author casually asked members of the community whether they were aware of the young people that were involved in gang violence. Community members negotiated on behalf of the author by spotting young people that were involved in gang violence. One of the community members, who identified himself as a relative to one of the boys involved in gang violence, accompanied the author

in search of the boys. The author explained that the research was for academic purposes, which helped community members to agree to help to recruit research participants. Some of the community members were the guardians of the young people that were involved in gang violence. When the author was introduced to some of the potential participants, she held discussions with them in groups for some days for the purpose of fostering familiarity and friendship with the participants. After on-going discussions which lasted for a week, the author later asked them if they were willing to take part in the research and informally explained everything about the study. Out of twenty-two (22) that the author approached only eighteen (18) agreed to participate in the study. The author could not contact the remaining four after they had agreed to participate in the study.

3.3.4 Research tool

The researcher used a semi-structured interview schedule to collect data. According to Merriam (2002) and Johnson and Christensen (2008), the conversational quality of semi-structured interviews makes it easier to build trust between the researcher and the interviewee, which is an essential element in the research process. The questions asked were based on the interview guideline in line with the objectives of the study, which were helpful in guiding the author to be consistent in asking questions that allowed objective comparison of results. According to Greeff (2005), guided interviews are ideal for collecting comprehensive and comparable data.

3.3.5 Data collection strategy

As explained in 3.3.3, before conducting the interviews, the researcher had to search for available participants to take part in the study. The researcher met with a few groups of young people who were involved in YGV, but they hesitated to take part because they did not trust the researcher. The participants mentioned that they had participated in an earlier study with other researchers who came to the community under false pretences and the participants got hurt in the end. They also mentioned that researchers want to benefit at their expense, they used them as instruments and they gained nothing out of it. The researcher had to use a different approach in terms of getting them to participate in the study, by approaching them individually. It was difficult to get some of them because they were at school, so the researcher had to wait until after school. The author expected to conduct the interviews with young people from the same neighbourhood, such as L, M, Q, R sections of Khayelitsha, but another group of young people from Phase 2 Greenpoint Site B of Khayelitsha which were the opponents of the above-mentioned sections (L, M, Q, R) were part of the interviews. The author assumed that it was safer to conduct research

in one neighbourhood to avoid quarrelling between the groups. However, at the end it was interesting to listen to both groups of opponents and their views about their involvement in gang violence.

The author had to ensure that the participants understood the questions from the interview schedules and asked them whether they were comfortable with the questions. Although the questions were written in English, which is a second language to the participants, the researcher had to translate some of the questions into their own language (isiXhosa). Some of the participants had no difficulties in understanding the questions in English, but replied in isiXhosa. The ability of the researcher to speak isiXhosa and participants' 'tsotsi taal' which is mostly used by young people from the black townships like Site B Khayelitsha helped the author a lot. The majority of the participants were more comfortable in 'tsotsi taal', although some of them were more mature than others. The author was fascinated by the responses of other participants and their body language during the interviews.

Most of the interviews had to be translated into English when the author transcribed, few of them were transcribed in the exact words of the participants. The interviews went well, compared to the expectations of the author since she was interviewing young males involved in gang violence. The interviews were held in a central place, which was in the home of the author, because both the author and respondents felt it was appropriate for the interviews to be conducted there where everyone felt safe.

3.3.6 Data collection apparatus

A tape recorder was used to record the interview. The tape recorder allowed the author to get the appropriate and direct information from the participants without being biased. This also helped the interviewer to concentrate on the non-verbal indications and be more attentive during the interview process. Smith et al. (1995 as cited in De Vos et al. 2011: 359) explain that a tape recorder is more flexible than using notes taken during the course of the interview. The respondents were aware of the tape recorder, the author asked for permission from them before she started recording. Furthermore, the participants were assured that the information from the tape recorder would be destroyed immediately after transcription of the research interviews.

3.3.7 Data analysis

De Vos et al. (2005: 333) define data analysis as "a process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data" which transforms collected data into findings. The eighteen (18) interview recordings were transcribed thoroughly and interpreted by identifying common themes, categories,

patterns, trends, etc., in the analysis. The data analysis was based on Tesch (1990) adaptation of analysis. The steps that were followed in analysing research data included:

- Going through each interview to make sense of the data collected before analysing.
- After checking and understanding the interviews, the researcher chose the main transcripts in relation to the objectives of the study.
- The transcripts were coded according to main themes, categories and sub-categories.
- The transcripts were marked in different colours based on the connection of the response for each objective.
- The findings were written up using the coding framework looking for the interrelationships between themes, categories and sub-categories.
- Concrete quotes were used to clarify the themes, categories and subcategories that emerged and these were in connection to various authors in the literature review.
- Data were analysed based on the themes and different categories in order to provide critical understanding of the study.
- Finally the information was compared with the transcription for completeness and a deeper level understanding.

3.3.8 Data Verification

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985, as cited in De Vos et al. 2005), data verification involves questions such as its applicability, consistency, and neutrality. In the study the researcher has used three principles from Lincoln and Guba (1985), which are discussed below: credibility, dependability and conformability, these scholars believe the principles reflect the assumptions of the qualitative paradigm more accurately.

3.3.8.1 Credibility

The author ensured credibility by comparing various participants' responses. The findings of the study were linked with the literature review to show accuracy and credibility of the study based on what has been studied and what is being discovered. According to De Vos et al. (2005), credibility is concerned with the accuracy of the way the subject is identified and described, whereby the author clarified the boundaries around the study.

3.3.8.2 Dependability

When a research process is well documented, logical and audited, it is when dependability is achieved (De Vos et al., 2011). It means that a study must provide the readers with evidence that if it were to be

repeated with different set of respondents in the similar setting, its findings would be similar (De Vos et al. 2005). In this study, the author ensured dependability by using semi-structured interview schedules to collect data and also accurately analysed the data in order to ensure consistency in the study.

3.3.8.3 Conformability

Conformability has to do with the traditional concept of objectivity. According to De Vos et al. (2011 and 2005), conformability is concerned with the ability to compare and confirm the findings of the study with other studies or literature. In this study, the progress of the research process was discussed with the researcher's supervisor on a continuous basis to check for bias and to make sure that the correct procedures were followed. The author recorded the interviews, which were transcribed verbatim to avoid subjectivity.

3.3.9 Ethical considerations

This study adhered to ethical standards of social science research. The importance of ethical standards of social research is that it must bring no harm to participants (Babbie, 2005). The ethics that were considered in this study are discussed below.

- **Informed consent**

According to Ali and Kelly (2012:66) "gaining informed consent is a procedure that aims to support the principle of individual autonomy and is widely agreed to be a safeguard for the rights of people participating knowingly and voluntarily in research". The aim and the purpose of the study were explained to the participants to enable them to make an informed decision about being part of the research process. The informed consent was conducted verbally since the researcher believed that the targeted research participants will not be comfortable with a written letter. The underlying principles of social research are universal and involve issues such as honesty and respect for the rights of others, and the concern that subjects should partake freely, based on informed consent (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005). As some of the participants under the age of 18 years were raised by single parents or guardians, the author had to negotiate for their permission to take part in the study. The researcher was able to get their verbal consent regarding their children's participation in the study. The University of Cape Town ethical clearance was obtained through the department of social development ethics committee where the student is registered.

- **Voluntary participation**

Permission was requested from the participants' older siblings for those who were under the age of 18 years. Before consulting the parents, the researcher asked to seek permission from the participants who were under the age of 18 years to meet with their relatives or guardians for the respondents' participation in the study. The participants were informed that participation in the study would be voluntary. Every participant received a full explanation of his rights before they decided to participate in the study. This enabled them to participate out of their free will and they were informed that if they want to pull out from the research interview they were free to do so. At the beginning of each interview, the author reminded the participants that they were volunteering, and that no one is forced to participate in the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

- **Avoidance of harm**

According to Dantzker and Hunter (2012:22) "it is important that the researcher consider what type of harm may befall respondents before starting the research". In this study, the researcher ensured that the participants received a clear explanation about the study before the interviews proceeded. This approach helped the participants to be aware of what the study is all about in case they want to withdraw from the study because of emotional reasons that may affect them psychologically. The researcher tried to avoid questions that would harm them emotionally, for example questions like: the weapons they use to attack their rivals and how they use the weapons to attack. However, the majority of the participants were open about their involvement in YGV. When the participants decided to continue with the interview and it happened that in the middle of the interview the participant was harmed emotionally, the researcher asked permission from the participants whether to proceed with the interview or not. All the participants completed their interviews. No participants needed debriefing or referral to a social worker.

- **Deception of the respondents**

The researcher clarified the aim of the study with the participants before the start of the interview in order to avoid any false expectations. Participants were informed that the study was being conducted for academic purposes. The researcher made no promises or raised no false expectations amongst to the participants. Babbie and Mouton (2001) state that researchers must not hide the main purpose of the study or hide the experiences that the subjects will go through.

- **Confidentiality**

The researcher guaranteed confidentiality for all information to be provided by the participants before the interview took place. The participants were assured that the information they would share would not be disclosed to other people except to the supervisor anonymously for supervision purposes. Confidentiality implies that the researcher does not disclose to the public any information revealed to him/her by the participants (Strydom, 2005).

- **Anonymity**

In this study the respondents were assured anonymity. Participants were informed that their identities and responses would remain anonymous. Pseudonyms were used to ensure privacy of the participants. Yedigis and Weinbach (1996 as cited in De Vos et al. 2011:119) argue that “it is imperative that the researchers be reminded of the importance of safe-guarding the privacy and identity of respondents, and to act with the necessary sensitivity where the privacy of subjects is relevant”. The researcher assured the participants that under no circumstances their names would be revealed.

3.3.10 Anticipated challenges and limitations of the study

- **Research Design**

Punch (1998) argues that there may be problems with the validity of information and the lack of generalisation has been a major criticism. This study was limited, because it mostly depended on the participants’ responses and the findings were not easily generalisable. However, Gxubane (2012:13) note that “subjective perceptions that are derived from qualitative approaches to research offer a richer understanding of complex human problems that require in-depth investigation”. As much as the study was limited based on subjectivity, the author had better understanding about the study undertaken.

- **Sample size**

Engel and Schutt (2010) state that even though purposive sampling adequately represents the issues studied; however, it does not produce a sample that represents the broader population. This study was limited, because of the selected size of the sample. However, the overall aim study of the study was about an in-depth insight on the perceptions of the respondents regarding the study matter.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the profile of the respondents and the framework of research data presentation and discussion. The findings are presented according to themes, sub-themes and categories that emerged from the analysis of the research data, which are based on the objectives of the study and the overall aim of the study.

4.2 Profile of respondents

The profile of the research respondents is presented in three sub-sections. The first profile includes respondents' ages, their age when started YGV and their educational histories. The second profile presents, family compositions, and the final profile focuses on the respondents' proximity to the school.

Table 4 below presents the profile of respondents with respect to their ages, their ages when started YGV and their educational histories.

Table 4: Respondents’ ages during the period of the study, their ages when they started the youth gang violence and educational histories.

R	Age	Respondents’ ages when started YGV	Educational Histories				
			Respondents’ grades they were enrolled in during the period of the study	Grades repeated by the respondents	Respondents’ reasons for repeating grades	Respondents’ expulsion from school	Respondents’ reasons for their suspension at school
R1	19	16	11	10	Got arrested for murder, killed an opponent	Yes	Slapped this other girl on her face from school, suspended for two weeks
R2	19	17	Passed Grade 12 in 2013	Never	Not applicable	Yes	Fighting inside the school premises, suspended for a week
R3	17	14	9	8	Expelled in the middle of the year, because of YGV	Yes	For not wearing a school tie properly, suspended for few days and gang related
R4	18	15	Dropped-out in Grade 8	Never	Not applicable	Yes	Brought a friend to school, the teachers thought that we came to fight, because it was during gang violence suspended for a week
R5	17	14	10	9 & 10	When YGV was too much, people were dying that year, dropped-out.	Yes	Because of misbehaviour, fighting inside school premises, suspended for the whole year
R6	19	18	Failed Grade 12 in 2013	Never	Not applicable	Yes	Because of misbehaviour, not doing my work and I was back chatting with my teachers and rude, suspended for a month
R7	20	16	Dropped-out in Grade 8	8	Worried about safety, because of YGV.	No	Not applicable
R8	17	16	10	4	Parents relocated, changed school and failed	Yes	Because of smoking inside school premises, suspended for two months
R9	16	12	10	Never	Not applicable	No	Not applicable
R10	17	16	11	Never	Not applicable	Yes	Fighting inside school premises, suspended for two weeks.
R11	16	14	9	Never	Not applicable	No	Not applicable
R12	17	15	10	Never	Not applicable	No	Not applicable
R13	14	13	8	5	Did not attend school spent most of my time at home	No	Not applicable
R14	19	17	11	10	Got arrested for murder, killed an opponent.	Yes	Fighting inside school premises with the opponents, used weapons for revenge, suspended for a week
R15	18	14	10	8 & 9	Did not attend school, was smoking a lot and spent time in YGV	Yes	Fighting inside school premises, suspended for a week
R16	19	15	Dropped-out in Grade 9	8 & 4	First year in high school, met friends there, got involved in YGV and was absent from school	Yes	Fighting inside school premises with the opponents, suspended for two weeks
R17	18	17	12	Never	Not applicable	Yes	Fighting inside school premises, suspended for some weeks
R18	15	14	9	Never	Not applicable	No	Not applicable

4.2.1 The ages of the respondents during the period of the study

The researcher included the age of the respondents on their profile, because it was important to understand their educational attainment based on their ages.

Table 4 above indicates that:

- Most (72%), 13 out of 18 respondents were between the ages of 17 and 19 years.
- Low proportion (28%), 5 out of 18 respondents were between the ages of 14 and 20 years.
- The highest age amongst respondents was 20 years.
- The median age amongst respondents was 16 years and the youngest was 14 years.

The Department of Basic Education (2010) defines children between the ages of 14-18 years as an appropriate age for the secondary (high) school Grades 8 to 12. The respondents' ages were between 14 and 20 years, therefore qualifying them under the above categorisation of high school-age children, although some were above 18 years and supposed to have completed high school.

4.2.2 Respondents' ages when they started youth gang violence

This aspect was significant, because the researcher wanted to know the average age or period when young people start to be involved in social ills such as YGV. This might help policy makers to know on which age group of young people they need to put more emphasis when drawing up policies.

Table 4 above indicates that:

- The median age was 15 years and the lowest was 12 years.
- Just over half (55%) of the respondents were between 12 and 14 years when they started YGV.
- Almost half (45%) of the respondents were between the ages of 14 and 16 years.
- The highest age amongst respondents was 18 years when they started YGV.

The profile shows that over half of the respondents started at an early age to be involved in YGV that is between 12 and 14 years. The average age which most respondents started with YGV was between 14 and 16 years old. The profile further shows that the oldest and the youngest age at which the respondents started YGV were 18 years and 12 years respectively.

4.2.3 Respondents' educational histories

The educational history was significant, because the researcher was interested to know the respondents' level of education in terms of their educational attainment during their involvement in YGV. The variable of educational histories discussed below looks at *respondents' grades they were enrolled in during the period of the study, respondents' grade repeated and respondents' expulsion from school.*

4.2.3.1 Respondents' grades they were enrolled in during the period of the study

Table 4 above indicates that:

- The median grade was 10 and the lowest grade was 8.
- More than half, 11 out of 18 (61%) respondents were enrolled between grade 9 and 11.
- Almost a quarter, 3 out of 18 (17%) respondents had dropped-out of school.
- Almost a quarter, 2 out of 18 (11%) respondents enrolled for their grade 12 in 2013.
- The highest grade amongst respondents was 12.

It would appear that from the above figures, the highest and the lowest grade the respondents were enrolled in during the period of the study was 12 and 8 respectively. On the other hand, a few of the respondents (17%) indicated that they had dropped out of school. It can therefore be inferred that despite being involved in YGV, very few of the respondents would drop out of school. Table 4 above also indicates that three of the respondents whose ages were between 19 and 17 years old repeated some grades. One respondent was 20 years old when he dropped out of school (and another one was 14 years old, but still in Grade 8). This therefore shows that some of the respondents were delayed in their schooling seemingly due to their active involvement in YGV.

4.2.3.2 Respondents' grade repeated

Table 4 above indicates that:

- Half of the respondents 9 out of 18 (50%) reported that they repeated some grades
- Out of the half of the respondents who repeated grades a very high proportion 7 out of 9 (77%) repeated because of their involvement in YGV.
- Only a quarter, 4 out of 18 respondents (22%) were arrested for murder.
- Only a quarter, 4 out of 18 (22%) respondents were absent from school as they reported that they were worried about their safety.
- A third, 6 out of 18 respondents (33%) spent most of their time in YGV so they failed their grades (Please see Table 4).

4.2.3.3 Respondents’ expulsion from school

Table 4 indicates that:

- More than half, 12 out of 18 (66%) respondents had been suspended from school at some point in their school.
- Only a low proportion, just over a quarter, 6 out of 18 (34%) respondents had never been suspended from their schooling.

More than half, 7 out of 12 (58%) of the respondents who were expelled from school were involved in school fights. Over a quarter, 5 out of 12 (42%) of the respondents were expelled, because of their misbehaviour at school such as bringing friends to school, not wearing full uniform, smoking, physical and emotional abuse to others. Some of these respondents were expelled for one to two weeks and others one to two months. One respondent was suspended for the whole year. All these suspensions seemingly affected their attitude towards schooling.

4.2.4 Respondents’ family compositions

Respondents’ family compositions were significant to the study as they would assist in giving an overview of the respondents’ upbringing such as the *people the respondents were living with at home during the study, persons responsible for respondents’ provision of basic needs, respondents’ satisfaction with their basic needs, and number of the siblings at home.*

Table 5 below presents the respondents’ family compositions.

Table 5: Respondents’ family compositions

R	Family Compositions			
	People the respondents were living with at home during the study	Persons responsible for respondents’ provision of basic needs	Respondents’ satisfaction with their basic needs being met	Number of siblings at home
R1	Living with his parents.	Mother	Yes, he is satisfied	Four children
R2	Living with his grandmother and uncle (parents passed away)	Grandmother	Not satisfied, because the grandmother is a pensioner.	No Siblings (the only child)
R3	Living with his mother and step-father (biological father lives somewhere else)	Mother	Yes, he is satisfied	Six Children
R4	Living with his mother and sister (father passed away)	Mother	Yes, he is satisfied	Five children
R5	Living with his parents and two brothers	Father	Yes, he is satisfied	Three children
R6	Living with his father, sometimes aunt (mother passed away)	Both his aunt and father	Sometimes, when they can afford.	Two children
R7	Living with his mother and siblings (father passed away)	Mother	Yes, he is satisfied	Five children
R8	Living with his parents and three siblings	Mother	Yes, he is satisfied	Four children
R9	Living with his parents and two siblings	Both parents	Not satisfied, because he uses his money to buy other things	Three children
R10	Living with his parents and three siblings	Both parents	Yes, he is satisfied	Seven children
R11	Living with his parents and siblings	Father	Yes, he is satisfied	Five children
R12	Living with his parents	Father	Yes, he is satisfied	Two children
R13	Living with his uncle, aunt and cousin ,sisters (parents passed away)	Aunt	Yes, he is satisfied	Two children
R14	Living with his older sisters (parents separated and live somewhere)	Older sister	Yes, he is satisfied	Six children
R15	Living with his grandmother and three siblings (mother in another province)	Mother	Yes, he is satisfied	Three children
R16	Living with his mother and sisters (Father passed away)	Mother and older brother	Not satisfied, not all are met	Four children
R17	Living with his parents and two siblings	Both parents	Yes, he is satisfied	Three children
R18	Living with his mother and brothers (Father passed away)	Mother and older brother	Yes, he is satisfied	Three children

4.2.4.1 People the respondents were living with at home during the study

Table 5 above indicates that:

- Over half, 10 out 18 (55%) respondents were not living with both biological parents, but with grandparents (11%), siblings (11%) and their mothers (28%) or fathers (5%).
- Almost half, 8 out 18 (45%) respondents lived with both biological parents.

Family setups of the respondents as reflected in Table 5 above show that over half of the respondents lived in single-parent-headed families and only less than half lived with both biological parents. The respondents lived either with their mothers or fathers while others lived with their grandparents or siblings. Of those who lived with their grandparents, siblings, mothers or fathers reported that some of their parents were deceased (39%) or living in another province (17%). The author observed that most of the young people who grew up without both biological parents or absence of a father seemed to join social ills such as YGV. A project called Men Care & Sonke Gender Justice Network (nd) states that children who grow up in the presence of their fathers, improve educational achievement, self-confidence, adjustment and behavior control and are less likely to drop out of school and less likely end up in jail.

4.2.4.2 Persons responsible for respondents’ provision of basic needs

Table 5 above indicates that:

- A third, 6 out of 18 (33%) respondents reported that they were being provided for by their grandparents (5%), siblings (11%) and some of the siblings were helping their mothers (11%) or fathers (5%).
- Just over a quarter, 5 out of 18 (28%) respondents reported that their basic needs were being provided for by their mothers.
- A few, 3 out of 18 (17%) respondents reported that they were being provided for by their fathers, and by both parents respectively.

The figures above show that almost half of the respondents’ needs were met by their relatives, some of the relatives who were helping the respondents included the single parents (33%), followed by a few number of mothers (28%). Very few fathers (17%) and both parents (17%) were providing for the needs of the respondents; this might be because some of the parents were late or lived in another province or place.

4.2.4.3 Respondents’ satisfaction with their basic needs being met

Table 5 above indicates that:

- Most, 14 out of 18 (78%) respondents reported that their needs were being met and they were satisfied.
- A few, 3 out of 18 (17%) respondents reported that their needs were not met.
- One (5%) respondent reported that his needs were met sometimes.

The figures show that a relatively high proportion of the respondents’ needs were met and satisfied, most of them were provided for by their mothers (33%), fathers (17%), siblings’ assistance (17%) and very few by both parents (11%). Some of those who were not satisfied were provided for either by both parents (5%) or by relatives (11%) and one respondent who was sometimes satisfied was provided for by his aunt and father (5%).

4.2.4.4 Number of siblings at home

Table 5 above indicates that:

- Over half, 11 out of 18 (61%) respondents reported that they had more than two siblings and some to six siblings at home.
- Just over a quarter, 5 out of 18 (28%) respondents reported that they had three siblings at home.
- Under a quarter (5%) of the respondents respectively reported that they had 7 siblings or no siblings at home.

The above table shows that 4 out of 5 (80%) of the respondents who had three siblings at home reported that their needs were met and satisfied. Most, 9 out of 11 (81%) of those who had six, five, four and two siblings at home, their needs were met, including those who had seven sibling at home. Ironically, one respondent who did not have siblings at home stated his needs were not met and satisfied.

4.2.5 Respondents’ proximity to the school

Respondents’ proximity to the school was relevant for the study, as the researcher needed to know the *distance from school, transport to school and who they went with (accompany) to school*, whether they were safe from being attacked by their opponents while going to school. Table 6 below presents the respondents’ proximity to the school.

Table 6: Respondents’ proximity to the school

R	Proximity to the school		
	Distance from school	Transport to school	Accompany to school
R1	Far	Bus (changed school)	Friends
R2	Closer	Walked	Friends
R3	Far	Walked	Friends
R4	Closer	Walked	Friends
R5	Far	Bus (changed school)	Friend
R6	Closer	Bus	Friends
R7	Far	Walked	Friends
R8	Far	Father’s car	Drives with his father
R9	Far	Walked	Friends
R10	Far	Bus (changed school)	Friends
R11	Closer	Walked	Friends
R12	Far	Walked	Friends
R13	Far	Walked	Friends
R14	Closer	Walked	Friends
R15	Far	Walked or Taxi	Guys from school
R16	Far	Walked	Friends
R17	Closer	Walked	Friends
R18	Closer	Walked	Walk alone/friends

Table 6 above indicates that:

- More than half, 11 out of 18 (61%) respondents reported that they lived far from school.
- A low proportion, 7 out of 18 (39%) respondents reported that they lived closer to school.
- Most, 12 out of 18 (67%) respondents reported that they walked to school
- A low proportion, 5 out of 18 (28%) respondents reported that they used transport to school and one respondent (5%) walked or used a taxi to school.

- A high proportion, 16 out of 18 (89%) respondents reported that they walked or travelled to school in the company of friends.
- A low proportion, 2 out of 18 (11%) indicated that they were either driven to school or walked with pupils who were not necessarily their friends.

Table 6 above shows that most of the respondents were living far from school, while few of them were living closer. Half (50%) of the respondents who walked were living far from school and they walked in the company of their friends. The figures indicate that most of the respondents walked to school, while few used transport. Seemingly the respondents' circumstances exposed them to the risk of being attacked by their opponents.

4.3 Framework for research data presentation and discussion

This sub-section discusses the research data according to themes, sub-themes and categories as they emerged in the analysis of the research data.

Table 7 below presents the themes, sub-themes, and categories labelled for analysis and analysed according to the findings.

Table 7: Presents the themes, sub-themes and categories labelled for analysis and analysed according to the findings

Themes	Sub-themes	Categories
4.3.1: The participants' goals in life	4.3.1.1 Getting professional qualifications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Giving back to the community Earning a living Having passion for the profession
	4.3.1.2 Attaining their goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Putting more effort into their studies Admission to tertiary education Being given a second chance to go back to school
	4.3.1.3 Type of support needed by respondents to attain their goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Psychosocial support Financial support to access education
4.3.2: Participants' association of their goals in life with educational attainment.	4.3.2.1 The importance of high school education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High school promotes learners to have access to career guidance High school promotes self-awareness amongst learners
	4.3.2.2 Grade 12 qualification creates opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tertiary opportunities Employment opportunities
	4.3.2.3 Perceived effects of YGV in their schooling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor attendance at school Poor academic performance
	4.3.2.4 Perceived impact of YGV on educational attainment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dropped-out of school Repeated grades Youth gang violence inside school premises
4.3.3: The participants' motivation for getting involved in YGV.	4.3.3.1 Security for protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fear of being victimized Group identity
	4.3.3.2 Perceived effects of YGV on their life and families	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth gang violence restricted their movements Youth gang violence promoted bad habits Psychological Effects on their families
4.3.4: The participants' views on the role of the community in promoting YGV in Khayelitsha.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> YGV perceived to be life threatening in the community Demon possessed
	4.3.4.1 Perceived community attitude that they think promotes YGV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Traditional belts Community as spectators Community attempts to end YGV
	4.3.4.2 Abuse of social networks to promoted YGV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coordination of activities that promoted fights Information dissemination about the number of deaths in their groups as a sign of victory
4.3.5: The participants' perceived benefits for their involvement in YGV.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revenge Personal victory The power to carry dangerous weapons
4.3.6: The participants' regrets for getting involved in YGV.	4.3.6.1 Psychological and physical effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Injuries incurred YGV replaced the respondents' social activities Acquiring criminal record Stigmatisation by community
4.3.7: The participants' future intentions regarding their involvement in YGV.	4.3.7.1 Intentions to abandon YGV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Termination of membership Relocation
4.3.8: Respondents' concluding remarks and recommendations on YGV	4.3.8.1 Youth gang violence needs to end	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth gang violence could lead to imprisonment and/or death Delays your schooling
	4.3.8.2 Suggestion for young people that would like to join YGV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Young people need to focus on their studies

4.3.1 The participants' goals in life

The sub-themes that emerged from the analysis of research data regarding the respondents' goals in life were *getting professional qualifications, attaining their goals, and the type of support they needed to attain their goals*, which are discussed in detail below.

4.3.1.1 Getting professional qualifications

All the respondents in the study reported that they would like to have *professional qualifications*. They cited various professions such as being a pilot, a lawyer, an engineer, a social worker, disc jockeys (DJs) and a police officer. The respondents had different reasons for their intentions in getting the qualifications. Some of those reasons were *giving back to the community, earning a living, and having passion for the profession*.

- **Giving back to the community**

A low proportion of the respondents (11%) reported that they wanted to be social workers and medical doctors:

"In life... I want to be a social worker, because I saw poverty... .. my father used to drink too much, and my mother was not working at that time. When my father gets paid on Fridays he will go and drink and he will not give my mother the wages, so he did not care about anything...seeing others in my neighbourhood that are suffering in poverty not having assistance, would like to help them " (R3).

"I want to be a (medical) doctor...being a doctor, you can also help in the community, because there are so many things happening here. I remember when I was still doing these negative things and hiding them, the doctors saw them, I will really love to be a doctor, Sister...." (R5).

The respondents' desire to give back to the community from their professionals was interesting, because the researcher observed that it is rare to have young people desiring to give back to their communities after they have completed their schooling. The research data indicates that young people involved in gang violence still aspire to have qualifications despite their involvement in gang violence. Robinson-Easley (2012) also found that when young people are motivated and encouraged by the community, they become assets of change in their communities.

- **Earning a living**

Some of the respondents reported that they wanted to be lawyers, engineers, accountants and pilots because they needed to make lots of money:

"I want to be educated and have money..... I want to work for Eskom, and fix electricity..... Because I want something that will make me use my hands, which is electricity" (R9).

"I want to be an accountant, to have so much money and also to provide for my parents and be able to give them more than they have given to me" (R17).

The findings show that the respondents even though they have been involved in YGV, they still wanted to make a difference in their lives by attaining professional qualifications that will help them to earn a decent living. Although some of them cited that they wanted to have these professions in order to earn an income, one respondent preferred professions that would not require a long duration in terms of training:

"I want to be a firefighter or train driver, because I am not prepared to stay for long in college" (R4).

- **Having passion for the profession**

Most of the respondents wanted to pursue professions such as geologists, artists, train drivers, information technology (IT) technicians, pilots and police officers including Metro police, because they simply loved them, as reflected in the following statements:

"I want to be a lawyer..... Because I like correcting people especially when they are having an argument" (R13).

"..... I want to be a pilot.... Because I love being a pilot and I wish to be one, but I don't know how to be it" (R7).

It is evident from the research data that most of the respondents wanted to acquire different professions because they had a passion for them. This shows that they see some of their capabilities, which they might use for future preferences. Growing up in the same area as the respondents the researcher realized that more often some youth lack foresight in what they intend to do in future. They seem to be more concerned with short- term goals such as theft and robbery than earning a living, activities that often lead them into trouble with the law. The research data in this study show that, in as much as the youth are involved in

acts of gang violence they still dream of making a difference in their lives. This finding is similar to that of Robinson-Easley (2012), who investigated black youth gangs in the United States of America and found that young people had aspirations to complete schooling, get a scholarship, study at the school of law, get a good job, and a decent house.

4.3.1.2 Attaining their goals

Even though there might be a perception that youth who are involved in gang violence are a lost generation, this study showed that most of the respondents would like to *put more effort into their studies, get admission to tertiary education and be given a second chance to go back to school*. The respondents had strategies in mind on how they would achieve their goals as discussed below.

- **Putting more effort into their studies**

Half of the respondents mentioned that they needed to study very hard, do their school work in order to reach their goals. The respondents believed that it is through hard work that they can be able to realize their goals:

“You know, Sister, I need to work hard, if I want to achieve my goals and stop fighting and become a better person and focus in my studies, because the time is gone” (R1).

“I am going to read my books every time I am coming back from school and do all my assignment and classwork” (R13).

The research data shows that the respondents were keen to work hard in their education in order to get where they want to be. This could be an indication that in as much as young people may be involved in social ills such as gang violence, there are those with the potential to make it in life. It is also important to note that some youth who participated in the study seem to acknowledge that in order for one to be successful in life, there is a need to put in an extra effort.

- **Admission to tertiary education**

Almost all of the respondents expressed the desire to complete Grade 12 and attend college or university and do the courses that they were interested in and therefore needed to complete their schooling:

“When I am done with my Grade 12, I plan to go and study at UCT” (R10).

“To work hard, Sister, even this year, so that my results can be good enough to enable me to go to the University next year. I also intend to work at the University so that I can achieve my goals” (R17).

The research data also show that despite the respondents’ involvement in YGV, they still hoped to get admission into higher education. Robinson-Easley (2012) discovered that youth’s involvement in gang activities did not prevent young people from pursuing their dreams for success in life. The researcher has observed that entry into institutions of higher learning such as the universities might be difficult at times, especially if one does not have resources and good matric results. The respondents in the study are schooling in township schools and some of the schools do not have access to resources that might prepare the children for tertiary institutions. This would mean that the respondents will need to work extra hard in order to increase chances for admission to tertiary education and this could be severely hampered by their involvement with YGV.

- **Being given a second chance to go back to school**

A low proportion of the respondents who failed and dropped out of school reported that if they were given a second chance they would want to go back to school and complete their studies:

“In 2014 I am going to write supplementary and when I pass I am going to enrol at a college” (R6).

“Even though my dreams have been shattered, there is hope that I might go back to school and get a chance, because I am still young. I still have a dream of passing Grade 12, because you never get old for education, because I see elders going to school and that motivates me. Like, there are people who are 25 years old who are still in high school and when I see myself I am still young, so I can go back to school and do three years in high school and go to college to complete Grade 12” (R4).

The findings evidently show that the respondents did not view YGV as a hindrance to making it in life. In short, what this implies is that in as much as the young people may find themselves in situations that discourage them, they still hope to defy the odds. The researcher found that the respondents particularly valued the importance of education in their lives and would like to be given a second chance. Nonetheless, one of the respondents had no hope in going back to school after dropping out in Grade 9 in 2013 (see table 5:R16) and has attempted to get readmission at school:

“I want to have grade 12, but I don’t see that happening, because even in the beginning of the year I tried to register for school in the neighbourhood but I did not get it, because I was told by the schools in the neighbourhood [engingqini] that we are bringing Gurans in their schools ... but I want to complete school. So I have decided that if it is possible if I get in, in some of the colleges around if I will be allowed, but there is no hope” (R16).

The research data shows that some of the respondents, who were not in school, would like to be granted a second chance to further their studies, but one of respondent had no hope of going back to school. From the author’s experience of growing up in the same community as the respondents, young people often drop out of school before they get to Grade 10, let alone Grade 12. The Institute of Race Relations (2011) discovered that the numbers of drop outs in secondary education are very high. For instance, of the one million students who enrolled for grade 10 in 2007 only 51 percent wrote matric exams in 2009 and of these 31 percent passed the most affected are marginalized youth (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2011). The author believes that, due to the respondents’ current situation, one major contributing factor that can help the respondents to actualise their dream depends on how they perceive the importance of education as young people. Similarly, the National Youth Policy (2009-2014) notes that if young people are provided with second-chance opportunities that appropriately support and encourage them, they could become an asset to themselves, their families and society at large.

4.3.1.3 Type of support needed by respondents to attain their goals

Most of the respondents reported that they needed *psychosocial and financial support to access education in order to achieve their goals.*

- **Psychosocial support**

Some respondents reported that they needed psychosocial support in order to fulfil their future goals:

“I am not saying sister that I am not getting support from home, but I need someonebecause my ol’ lady [my mother] is always at work during the week and I don’t want to ask her to search for school for me, because at the end of the day I don’t get school. I tried to go around with her and I noticed that I am bothering her, since her employers are very strict. Like if I can get someone who can support me in searching for school that will be better, because I want to go back to school” (R4).

“If my parents can sit me down and talk to me and let me join the groups like soccer and music in my neighbourhood that will make a good impact in my life, not gangster groups” (R14).

The profile data of the respondents, discussed earlier, showed that over half of the respondents were not living with both biological parents. Therefore, it might have been difficult for some of the respondents to get enough support they needed from their guardians or single parents, because some of their households have five siblings to take care (see Table 5). The Ministry of Education Progress Report (2007) mentioned that single-parent households were one of the contributors to school drop-outs. The report further disclosed that learners who drop out are likely to have parents who provide little educational support in general (Ministry of Education Progress Report, 2007). The author observed that the majority of black communities such as Khayelitsha have single-headed households that may have a maximum of seven children that need support. Based on the evidence of the research data it might be difficult and challenging for single parents to support or give full attention to all siblings at home equally.

- **Financial support to access education**

Few respondents reported that they needed financial support in order to continue with their studies and reach their goals:

“I went to College and I was told that there are no bursaries, because their fees are expensive so you need a bursary. They gave me a form to sign and submit it on the 6th January (2015) and they will give me the bursary and study there. Yoh their school fees are too much.....It’s like R13000 a month and I don’t have that money” (R6).

“I need a support from my parents in order to take me to the University next year and be able to provide for me with all the needs that are required for my education. I need to be what I want to be, Sister” (R17).

The research data show that limited financial resources to access education could be one of the barriers in the educational attainment of the respondents and other youth. Some respondents similar to other young people do not seem to be aware of the financial support that is available for them from the government. For example, they can access the government loan which is called National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), which is provided to young people in need and who wants to enter universities and technical colleges. NSFAS has distributed R12 billion in financial aid for 659 000 students in its 10 years of operation (Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), 2010 as cited in Lewin & Mawoyo, 2014). From the researcher’s experience, there have been situations where young people opt to drop out of school even though there are resources. Therefore, the researcher believes that the young people such as

the respondents need to be encouraged to make use of the government financial support instead of dropping out of school.

On the other hand there were respondents who reported that they had all the support they need from their parents, it will be their choice either to continue or drop out of school:

"I don't need anything, Sister, my parents are very supportive of me, so it is my choice if I want to go to school or not" (R5).

"I don't need anything, because my parents give me everything I want" (R8).

The two respondents quoted above were living with both parents, as shown in table 4, it could explain the full support they got unlike the respondents who lived with single parents. The researcher observed that, although some young people in marginalised communities are coming from families that can assist them with their education needs, seemingly few of them make it to higher education. Though the lack of financial support is one of the reasons young people drop out of school, other contributing factors like poor infrastructure in schools may also have a bearing on the successful completion of their studies. For example, Lewin and Mawoyo (2014) found that the poor quality of most public schools in South Africa tends to discourage learners from completing their studies. The implication of this might be that the education system in South Africa needs to be structured in such a way that it benefits everyone.

4.3.2 Participants' association of their goals in life with educational attainment

Most of the sub-themes that emerged from the analysis of respondents' association of their goals in life with educational attainment included *the importance of high school education, grade 12 qualification creates opportunities and perceived effects of youth gang violence in their schooling* as discussed in detail below.

4.3.2.1 The importance of high school education

The respondents were probed around about the importance of high school education. Most of them valued the importance of high school education. The respondents reported that *high school promotes learners to have access to career guidance and also promotes self-awareness amongst learners.*

- **High school promotes access to career guidance for learners**

Almost half of the respondents shared that high school gives a learner a variety of opportunities to choose from, like choosing the subjects that they want to do based on their career path:

“In high school you see what you want to be... Like you choose the subjects that you want to do, those that will help you to be what you want to be” (R14).

“High school is where you get most information about what you want to study for your career. Because when you are in grade 10, you choose the subjects you want to do, so yah high school education is important” (R1).

The research data suggest that going to high school allowed the respondents to know which career path they wanted to pursue in the future by choosing of subjects. Therefore, these findings show that high school is very important for the development of the young people in order to make sound decisions about their lives. The World Bank (2006) stated that even though learning happens in different environments, most critical values are learnt at school. Furthermore, Chen (2008) explored the possibilities of dealing with the issue of high school drop-out, which required a close look at the utilisation of more effective career guidance and career education strategies that could help students to complete their schooling.

- **High school promotes self-awareness amongst learners**

Some respondents reported that high school helps a learner to differentiate what is right from what is wrong. The respondents stated that in high school one gets a chance to know who one is and learns to be responsible:

“In high school is not the same as primary, the stages or levels. High school level is high, because there are many things happening and as learners we are not the same sister, we take different paths, in high school it is like we are being tested the functions of our brains. It is like you are being checked on how you think for yourself, you are not just a follower, who goes where everyone goes, like smoking and drinking. Like in high school bad influence is too much” (R2).

“High school life I have learnt a lot. I have learnt to be responsible for my life, like to know what is right and wrong for my life so that I can be successful in life, so I saw that in high school” (R17).

The research data indicate that high school played a vital role in helping the respondents to become self-aware among their peers. The researcher data seem to also suggest that high school is a second setting other than home where a child is being trained for self-awareness and growth. In support of the findings, Sen (1989 as cited in Parr, 2003: 303) expresses human development “as the process of enlarging a person’s capabilities to function, the range of things that a person could do and be in her life”.

4.3.2.2 Grade 12 qualification creates opportunities

All the respondents reported that they wanted to pass Grade 12. Even those who dropped out were still interested in getting their Grade 12 certificate, which they believed would help them to get *tertiary opportunities and employment*.

- **Tertiary opportunities**

Over half of the respondents reported that getting Grade 12 certificate will help them gain access to colleges and universities:

“Continue with my studies, passing Grade 12 and after get access to college” (R13).

“To complete my Grade 12 and go to university” (R9).

- **Employment opportunities**

Almost half of the respondents stated that they wanted to complete their schooling because they believed that there are employment opportunities after Grade 12:

“I want to have a Grade 12 certificate....I can do so many things with matric certificate... Like there are many job opportunities” (R6).

“I want to have Grade 12 and get a job to work for myself, because I don’t want to be like the guys in the township” (R15).

Some of the respondents reported that getting employment was going to help them save money to further their studies and help their families:

“When I finish Grade 12, there are so many opportunities. Like if I don’t have enough money to get to Varsity, I will get a job and save some money in order to continue with my studies and be what I want to be”. (R5)

"I want to pass my Grade 12 very much, because I want to help my family and have my own family". (R10)

The research data in this study seems to support Keenan (2007), who also found that marginalised youth have high hopes for work and they would like to pursue their careers as teachers, social workers, photographers, business people and farmers, even though there are limited job opportunities in South Africa. Motimele, Mahlangu, Tsotetsi, Nhlapo and Magongo (2011) noted that South Africa has almost 2.8 million youth aged between 19-24 years who are not in school and not in employment. From the researcher's experience, many young people are forced to search for employment earlier than expected due to the lack of income in their household. When young people leave school early without completing their education and start to seek job employment, this prevents them from getting good education, (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

4.3.2.3 Perceived effects of youth gang violence on their schooling

Most of the respondents reported that the perceived effects of YGV on their schooling were evident in their *poor attendance at school and poor academic performance*.

- **Poor attendance at school**

More than half of the respondents reported that they would be absent for some days or months from school due to their involvement in YGV. The research data showed that their involvement in YGV affected their school attendance because since they had no transport money, some were chased on their way to and from school, and some were injured and hospitalised:

"I was stabbed on my head and I slept in hospital in coma, it was during the time when we were going to have March school vacation for and I came back in June. I was behind with my studies when I came back" (R3).

"It had an impact in me because I could not go to school. I will be chased on my way to school, especially if my mother did not give me transport fee and I will go back home and stay for a week and go the following week" (R15).

According to Pinnock (1997), the school plays a major role in a child's life or behaviour because it is through the attendance of school that a child meets friends and peers. The research data shows that most of the respondents missed some of the modules in school because of their absenteeism. Over half of the

respondents were walking to school (see Table 6) and three of those who walked, changed schools and started using transport for safety, as reflected in the following statement:

“When I changed school it felt so good, because that side there is no Gurans, and when I take a bus it stops right in front of the school gate” (R10).

It can be therefore be inferred that lack of transportation might have deprived some of the respondents from attending school and exposed them to danger of being attacked. In addition to the National Youth Policy (2009-2014), Klassen (1998) and Ward (2009) also found that lack of transport opportunities that are affordable in order to get learners to and from school is another hindrance to education. This is due to the fact that most households in poor communities live on very little income due to unemployment or low wages (Klassen, 1998; National Youth Policy, 2009-2014; Ward, 2009).

- **Poor academic performance**

Almost half of the respondents reported that their performance at school was affected by YGV since they could not concentrate or read their books.

“It had an impact in me because before I joined Gurans (YGV) I was doing well at school, but after I joined my performance was not good at all. I knew that Gurans affected my performance, and I tried but it was difficult to go to school” (R14).

Sometimes I could not go to school, because I was deep in Gurans and I could not read my books, maybe we were going to write class tests some days and I will go to Gurans and not get a chance to write and fail the tests” (R11).

The research data also showed that there were few who were not affected in their performance. When they were probed about their performance at school, they reported that they listened to their teachers and read their books so that they would not fail:

“I was doing ok, because I listened to the teacher when we were taught in class. Gurans did not affect me, I managed to go to school, but I will leave early at home so that I do not meet the guys on the way. But after school we will fight, because they are waiting for us outside the gate. I will rather fight than not going to school because of Gurans” (R9).

“As for me, when I am coming back from school, I will not fight; I will do my home works, that's why I did not fail... The problem with them (guys), especially here in L-Section when you tell them to study it is like you joking and I gave up on them...” (R10).

It is evident from the research data that when young people are determined and dedicate their time to their studies regardless of their involvement in gangs, they could achieve educationally. Suh, Suh & Houston (2007) stated that the promotion of self-esteem, development of good study habits and organisational skills whilst at school, and an optimistic view about the future are important for eventual academic success.

4.3.2.4 Perceived impact of youth gang violence on educational attainment

When exploring the perceived impact of YGV on respondents, most of the respondents reported that their educational attainment had been impacted negatively, with only a few that had not been affected, such as the two quotes above. Amongst those who reported that YGV had a negative impact some of them *dropped-out of school, some repeated grades and some had their gang violence inside school premises.*

- **Dropped-out of school**

Some respondents reported that they dropped out of school, because of their involvement in YGV as stated in the following quotes:

“It is not that I was not serious, but I will not concentrate properly in class especially after 12h00 (afternoon classes) you will be worried of what is going to happen after school, seeing others carrying weapons (Pangas) outside and your mind will not be at school...., and my performance got poor and I drop-out at school” (R4).

“Yoh, Sister, it affected me big time, because it destroyed me...I love school, YGV messed up my life... I could not enter school premises when I was going to school and if I manage to get to school I could not get out, because guys from Phase2 and H-Section will be waiting for us outside the school gate. I realized that my life was at risk so I decided to quit last year.... I don't see myself going back to school and get to other grades as much I would love to” (R16).

The research data suggest that YGV has negatively affected most of the respondents as a result some respondents dropped out of school and show that YGV has delayed the educational attainment of some respondents. The South African Institute of Race Relations Press Release (2011) found that the drop-out rates in secondary education are very high in South Africa: of one million students who enrolled in Grade 10 in 2007, only 51% wrote matric exams in 2009 and only 31% passed. The respondents also form part

of the afore-mentioned high school drop-out rates, increasing the rate of young people who drop out of education in South Africa. According to Strassburg et al. (2010 as cited in Department of Basic Education report, 2011) financial challenges, the engagement of young people in social ills and lack of support at home result in young people disengaging from their education and eventually dropping out of school.

- **Repeated grades**

Some respondents reported that they had to repeat some grades in high school because they lost focus and concentration in their school work due to YGV (see Table 4 for grades repeated):

"I did not think that I will make in school sister, because I observed the things that I was doing and the way I was performing at school, I could not concentrate because I was always thinking of Gurans. I will think how I am going to school, if I go what if we get attacked, so I was thinking a lot of things, and I failed grade 10" (R14).

"I repeated Grade 9 and 10, when Gurans was too much and people were dying in that year" (R5).

The research data in this study support the Department of Basic Education (2011) report findings, that males have a tendency to repeat grades, for example an average of 9% of learners enrolled in schools in 2009 were repeaters and mostly the drop-out rate is between Grade 9 and 11. The research data also seems to indicate that some respondents dropped out before they got to Grade 9 and 10 and some respondents repeated those grades.

- **Youth gang violence inside school premises**

Some respondents reported that it was difficult to concentrate in class, because some of their fights happened inside school premises:

"For four weeks in every Fridays I could not go to school because the guys from L-Section and other sections would come to school and it will become chaotic, because of the fights and we would be released early from school so I would rather not go to school on Fridays" (R2).

"It had an impact in me because we had to fight inside school premises and we will not attend well at school....because we were worried about safety" (R12).

The research data show that the respondents were worried about their safety at school which seemingly affected their performance at school. The lack of concentration could have been associated with their fear

of having to deal with gang violence after school or during school hours. Mncube and Harber (2013: 4) argue that “school should be a safe environment that encourages effective teaching and learning, while violence in schools is a global problem”. The conditions of schools in marginalised communities are terrible, some schools do not even have proper toilets, electricity, desks and chalkboards (National Planning Commission, 2011). Hence, it seemingly makes it difficult for schools in the townships to hire high profile security guards for the protection of learners while at school. Therefore it seems most learners in township schools might be affected by YGV, even learners who are not part of YGV including school employees and teachers.

4.3.3 The participants’ motivation for getting involved in youth gang violence

The question that perhaps the society in general could be wondering about could be what motivates young people or adults to be involved in gang violence? The research data found that the respondents’ motivation for their involvement in gang violence included *security for protection*, seemingly, there were also *perceived effects of YGV on their life and families* after they got involved.

4.3.3.1 Security for protection

All the respondents reported that they joined YGV because they needed protection from *fear of being victimized* and for *group identity*, which identified them according to which sections they belonged to in Site B Khayelitsha.

- **Fear of being victimised**

Most of the respondents reported that they were chased, threatened, stabbed and lost some of their friends in gang violence. After the incidents of being victimised they got angry and decided to join, because they were tired of being victims of their opponents:

“It is because I got stabbed in my head....I was not involved then, I got stabbed because I was walking with the guys from U-section (Site B)... it was 2011 when I got stabbed, when I was doing grade 8 that is why I failed grade 8... It is because I was with these guys and I used to have lunch with them, because they were from Site B and when the opponents saw me walking with them, they got me after school and stabbed me and I was in ICU... I just wanted revenge from this person who stabbed me. They treated me as a gangster, and they chased me every time and that is why I joined myself” (R3).

"What motivated me, it is minor things because I got tired of being chased around on the street and decided to join because of that..... Even though you tell them [opponents] that you are not part of this, they will continue beating you up" (R6).

The research data reveal that most of the respondents were chased and attacked by the opponents, almost every day to and from school or walking in their neighbourhood. Therefore being the victims of YGV seems to have later forced them to join YGV for revenge. Some respondents even literally showed their injuries from the attack of the opponents. This finding is similar to that of Winton (2005), who explored the social and spatial mobility of young people in Guatemala City on youth, gangs and violence, who found that young people involved with gangs were met with the threat of injury or death on a daily basis, which complicated the roles of young people as both victims and perpetrators of violence.

- **Group identity**

Some respondents reported that they joined YGV due to the virtue of belonging to certain groups in different locations in the township. These groups' names, such as 'Italians and Vatos' identified them according to section of Khayelitsha they were residing:

"Because I have friends this side (Phase2) who were Italians and we were going to the same school, so when they were attacked by their opponents I would help them, so that is how I started... I was walking in Town 2 and these guys came to me and asked whether I was a Vato and I said no, so they started beating me up and they stabbed me on my head and I became angry, Sister" (R15).

The research data shows that the group identity determined which group or section the respondents belonged. A group of young people may take on a group identity to identify themselves and also to be identified by others, as gangs (Short-Jr, 1996). Most gang names are certainly formed by children from marginalised communities as a way of identifying and expressing their feelings (Boqwana, 2009). The findings show that the group identity is still a continuous culture in terms of sense of belonging and protection, as suggested by the research data in this study.

4.3.3.2 Perceived effects of youth gang violence on their life and families

The respondents reported that YGV *restricted their movements, promoted bad behaviour and had psychological effects on their families.*

- **Youth gang violence restricted their movements**

Over half of the respondents reported that they could not move beyond their neighbourhood, because they felt that their lives were in danger of being attacked by their opponents:

“We could not go other places like H-Section (Khayelitsha), if they see us we will be chased” (R9).

“If I can be able to have access to Phase2 and go everywhere, because I am not free, that’s the reason I fight, I need to be free and do whatever I want...” (R16).

This finding is similar to that of Burnett (1999), who explored gang violence as a survival strategy in the context of poverty in Davidsonville, found that the gangs formed territorial groups as their primary goal so that their opponents would not trespass. Burnett (1999:6) further explains that “they demarcated their territory in their own residential area and if a member of another gang trespassed on their turf he was punished violently”.

This research data shows that the respondents lived their lives looking over their shoulders, worried about their own safety against their opponents and therefore their lives were seemingly at risk as long as they were part of YGV and lived in those locations.

- **Youth gang violence promoted bad habits**

Some respondents reported that ever since they got involved in YGV they had adopted bad habits. They were no longer behaving the same way they used to before they joined YGV:

“Yoh Sister, it affected my life, because when I was not Guransing I was not smoking, I was playing soccer/football, but when I started Guransing I thought I was an adult, started smoking” (15).

“It affected my life Sister, I was a good child before Gurans, but all that changed. I am so aggressive and I am rude to older people, because I know I have my friends on my side to fight an older person if he overpowers me” (R4).

The finding shows that the respondents started engaging in bad habits such as smoking and showed no respect to other people. Boqwana (2009) asserts this behaviour as a result of communities where alcohol and drugs are easily available to under-age children; the availability places those who live in these communities at higher risk of violent encounters.

- **Psychological effects on their families**

Most respondents reported that their parents were affected by their involvement in YGV. Their behaviour caused some tension in their families; their families were disappointed, lacked trust in them, it created fear and anger, and also made them worried about the safety of the respondents:

“They expected me to become something in the future, they did not expect this... They were shocked when I dropped out of school, because they had hopes on me, but they got used to it” (R4).

“I have disappointed my mother, she feels disappointed. She thought I was a child and she was expecting a lot from me, even my daddy has a heart problem, all because of me. I thought about it and I realised that I should stop this Gurans [YGV] before I lose my father. I am still young to lose my parents, because what I get from my parents, I will not get it anywhere” (R1).

The research data seems to indicate that the respondents have disappointed their parents/guardians due to their involvement in YGV. Sefali (2014) also noted that some young people respect their friends more than their families or siblings.

The profile of the respondents as presented earlier (see Table 5) showed that less than half of the respondents stayed at home with both biological parents and the rest stayed either with their mothers, grandparents or their siblings. Only one stayed with his father as a single parent. It would therefore seem that the situation was worse in the single-parent households, because they had to take the place of both parents to the child:

“Since I got involved, my grandmother wanted to take me to Emaxhoseni [Eastern Cape] and I could see that she was not happy. Some days there will be this guy that will come to my place and I will be in my room and I will hear the knock at the front door and my grandmother will call me panicking, stressed and scared, I will know that there is a fight outside and I will keep quiet just to spite her and she will think that I am not around. The Gurans made my grandmother to be hurt” (R2).

Ward, Van der Merwe and Dawes (2012) also found that young people are more likely to join gangs if they have poor attachment to their parents. Therefore, the absence of both parents in some of the respondents' lives might have affected their behaviour, because they seemingly lacked some guidance from them in their lives.

4.3.4 The participants' views on the role of the community in promoting youth gang violence in Khayelitsha

Most of the respondents shared their views that YGV was perceived to be life-threatening to the community and *Satanism contributed in their fights*.

- **Youth gang violence perceived to be life threatening in the community**

It became evident from the responses that Khayelitsha had become a war zone that led to injury and death. Half of the respondents reported that stabbings and killings were common problems in YGV around the community of Khayelitsha:

"Yoh, innocent people die, you will be killed when you are seen in another side, but you are innocent. Like this other guy in Greenpoint (Phase2), he was coming back from the shop, they met with him and stabbed him and he is on wheelchair now – he was doing grade 9 last year (2013) and he was stabbed last year.... he was in hospital for months and he was not in YGV/Gurans." (R18).

"I think of those who died and those I lost, when I see those who killed people close to me, it triggers something in me and my heart starts to bleed. I did not even watch Cutting Edge, I did not want to witness what happened to my friend" (R5).

The research indicates that the involvement of young people in social ills like gang violence in Khayelitsha left some innocent people injured, while some could not escape death. This seemingly shows that YGV seems to have cost innocent people's lives and that has left the community grieving for the lives they lost. Similarly, Sefali (2014) also found that a group of young people that were involved in YGV in Khayelitsha stabbed a learner close to his heart while waiting in lines to go to classrooms and he spent a month in hospital.

- **Demon possessed**

Demon possessed was reported by some respondents, as also responsible for their behavior:

“This thing (YGV) was evil, because you see that others are dying, but you will want to go there, it was like you are not in your common sense, it is like there is some satan in it, you see. Even at church pastors will come and we will pray and demons will manifest, like the girls from our communities will confess about this thing (Gurans) – revealed that we will continue fighting.....and we are still going to die. We will listen to this, but after school we will go back and fight.... Even after we have heard what the devil says about us and his plans for us, but still we will continue and forget about the whole thing that has been said about our lives and continue with the fight after school” (R2).

The research data shows there seems to be a belief amongst some respondents that they were cursed and that is why they have been involved in YGV.

4.3.4.1 Perceived community attitude that they think promoted youth gang violence

The respondents reported various factors in the community that they believed contributed to YGV such as *traditional belts, community as spectators and few attempts to end YGV.*

- **Traditional belts**

Traditional belts seemingly are small belts made by traditional healers that are worn on the arm with a belief that they provide supernatural powers. Some respondents reported the use of traditional belts was for protection while they fought:

“.....it is those people who make traditional belts like witchdoctors, Sister, and they have promoted this Gurans. When they do these belts, those who have the belts, they don't want to stop, they want to continue because they feel protected. It is these belts sister” (R14).

“I don't know, but some of the guys said that their mothers made them join, by letting them use traditional belts for protection which made them not to be stabbed.... I did see them, the one that died here at Site B L&M section, we could not stab him... including his opponent, because of traditional belts because they wanted to be leaders of the groups ... I was shocked when I saw him being slaughtered....I didn't know what happened” (R18).

It is evident from the research data that the traditional belts seem also to play a role in influencing some young people to take part in YGV. Sefali (2014:5) also discovered that “Khayelitsha gangsters believe they can get the superpowers they need to become killers through visiting traditional healers (sangomas)”. Sefali (2014) further states that some of the gang leaders sacrificed some parts of their body in order to be powerful and feared by their peers.

- **Community as spectators**

Some respondents reported that some community members watched them fight and sometimes gave them weapons to fight back. On some occasions, the community members from their opponents’ side beat or chased them away when they ran to their houses for protection. Hence they believed that the community played a role in promoting YGV:

“Community members did not have a way of stopping Gurans as elders, they would watch us fighting and stabbing each other, because when we were involved we saw nothing wrong with what we were doing, because no one was stopping us and we were not afraid of anything. If the community members stopped us when we started, maybe punish us, we were going to be afraid of doing this. They failed us, Sister, like this thing was not handled better by the community members, there were no meeting about this, and they failed us. Even now, most of them do not know that we stopped Gurans; they still look at us as if we are still doing it” (R17).

Boqwana’s (2009) study also found that most of the people in the townships accepted gang activities among young people as an initiation phase to adulthood, while other community members associated themselves with gangs in order to gain favours from them. Similarly, Inglis (2009:37) noted that “living in such high-risk communities such as Khayelitsha combined with individual characteristics, such as aggression, anxiety and other effective problems, could encourage learners to participate in self-destructive behaviour”. This might explain the behaviour or reaction in spectating instead of fighting the existence of YGV in Khayelitsha Site B.

- **Community’s attempts to end youth gang violence**

Some respondents reported that previously there had been some members of the community that tried to stop YGV but failed and gave up. This could mean that the domination of YGV in Khayelitsha Site B overpowered the residents so that they could not stop it permanently. For example:

“The community members called the police services, taxi owners, but they gave up at the end... They were scared to intervene, they would step back and watch or call the police services.... I felt like some of them were happy watching us fighting” (R10).

“The community members tried to stop Gurans, the pastors spoke with us and we listened, they would tell us that they will take us to the camp and we will become so excited because we are kids and we will go to the camp.... We will stop for some time, because we are being supervised by the elders, but some of us will not stop” (R7).

The research data shows that there were some attempts from the community to stop YGV such as religious structures, taxi business owners and police, but some gave up in the end. It would seem to the author that there are no specific interventions that are put in place in fighting YGV in Khayelitsha Site B; if there were, they were ambiguous. Similarly, Boqwana (2009) also found out that communities could not stand firm in opposing gang activities in Khayelitsha township, because they feared for their own lives and loved ones. Therefore, this seems to further promote YGV, because it is not monitored properly.

4.3.4.2 Abuse of social networks to promote youth gang violence

Some respondents reported that social networks were used in gang violence for *coordination of activities that promoted fights* and also *information dissemination about the number of deaths in their groups* as a sign of victory.

- Coordination of activities that promoted fights

Some respondents reported that social networks helped them to arrange their fights, places where they would meet and the time:

“We will be playing soccer in the neighbourhood and one of us will be chatting on Mixit [Social Network] with our opponents and they will arrange for us to meet halfway and we will go and fight, people will get stabbed. When we are coming back from school we will fight in different places, but we have a destination where we stop, on the railway bridge, close to D-Section Khayelitsha, it was like a game and we had certain times when we fight.... We got used to it, Sister, we understood it.” (R16).

The research data shows that the respondents used social networks (Mixit) for communication in arranging their fights. From the researcher’s experience growing up in a township, the most common social networks that are used by young people from the ages of 12 to 21, are Mixit and 2Go, because it is

generally felt that those social networks are easy to use and affordable compared to other social networks, which seem to be expensive to maintain because of the upgrade of phones.

- **Information dissemination about the number of deaths in their groups as a sign of victory**

Some respondents also reported that they used social networks to boast about the number of boys who died among their opponents. This information provoked them to have more fights because they wanted to settle the score amongst themselves:

"We would be thrilled when we have stabbed or killed our opponents and say the score is 1-0 from Mix-it [social network] and when they stab and kill one of us we will be angry and go back to do the same so that we can have a score of 1-1 (draw)..." (R8).

"There is what we call social networks like Mixit, we would boast there when someone dies same applies with our opponents; they will write 'Rest in hell, so and so'... and we will get revenge" (R10).

Social networks are meant to be used to help young people to create connections and to improve their lives. However, the research data in this study shows that the social networks are also used for the purpose of violence-related gang activities. The research data in this study indicate that social networks have a negative role in young people living in marginalised communities, especially to those involved in gang violence.

4.3.5 The participants' perceived benefits of their involvement in youth gang violence

When the respondents were probed on their perceived benefits of their involvement in YGV, they reported that there were many *gains for getting involved in YGV*, including *revenge, prestige and power to carry dangerous weapons*.

- **Revenge**

The research data showed that the respondents had no problem in revealing their participation in stabbing and killing some of their opponents. Most of the respondents reported that they stabbed and killed their opponents because they felt that they had to seek revenge after losing some of their members or friends:

"Yoh we felt so good ... only when we killed someone..., because we get revenge, because ... died, it is like that. When we lose one of us, we cry and become angry and seek revenge from them, no matter how many they are, even if one of us dies we don't run away from them" (R7).

“When we kill we have a reason, we are angry, that is why we killed each other, we wanted revenge and we did not stab just for the fun of itBecause you start to think of the person you lost in this Gurans and when you fight you think of your friend that they killed and they will make jokes about the deceased, knowing that they killed him, I was angry because of that.... I get angry Sister, when I see the opponent, but I control my anger” (R14).

The research data shows that most of the respondents might have spent their time in seeking revenge from their rivals and that left them with blood on their hands. It would seem taking another human being's life is a norm to the respondents, in a sense that the respondents seemed not to have fear in committing a murder. When gang violence takes place it would seem that it acts as a catalyst for large-scale gang fighting an act of winning or losing the battle against your opponents is evident in ‘fighting’ or ‘hurting’ someone, which resulted in relative recognition and self-assertion (Burnett, 1999).

- **Personal victory**

Most respondents reported that they had gained a personal victory after getting their revenge from their opponents as a sign of power. They liked getting revenge from their opponents in the sense that some of them celebrated after they had stabbed or killed:

“When we stabbed or killed someone, it was nice, Sister, we will be so happy and celebrate as if we have won something and say “Yes Yes”..... Yoh, when someone dies it is when you become so happy, because he is dead, Sister, and we really celebrate..... You see, when we kill someone, maybe we will go to drink and celebrate the death of the other person” (R15).

“Yoh we felt so good sister only when we have killed someone... It was a revenge, Sister, because when you get revenge you feel at ease and that made us happy also and we will raise our weapons up as a sign of victory” (R9).

The research data shows that the respondents were proud of the fact that they were able to get their revenge from their opponents, which is why they celebrated. This is supported by Siegal and Senna (2000), who also found that violent activities provide some kind of emotional fulfillment to its members; they will spend their time collecting weapons and planning their activities. Similarly, Burnett (1999:9) found that “violent behavior was justified as a measure of paying the others back for the blood that had already been shed, despite discussions about peace, hatred ran deeply, but taking revenge, power and superiority were demonstrated”.

- **The power to carry dangerous weapons**

Some respondents reported that they used dangerous weapons such as pangas, axe, golf clubs and sharp knives when they attacked their opponents. These weapons were used to injure or kill their opponents:

“We were using dangerous weapons to stab and kill each other, one of our opponents died because he was not on guard when he was attacked, so they managed to pull his school bag, hit him with izembe [axe] on his head, when he tried to fight back with the golf stick they blocked it and pulled him with his school bag, he fell and he was slaughtered. So some of us became happy and those who were with him from Site B ran away and he died” (R18).

“In the community we are being seen as Lions, because you can kill someone, like you leave your house with panga/Isabile [Axe] to kill someone (looks worried).... What motivated us, Sister, is to see your friend lying there being slaughtered to death and you have to carry him yourself, you will take your weapon and go and fight and feel good” (R16).

The research data shows that the respondents in the study had no problem in mentioning the dangerous weapons that were used for gang violence. Jensen (2008) noted that in the 21st century guns have become an alternative to the knives, pangas and axes in gang activities which were used in the 1990s. However, Sefali (2014) found that young people in YGV fight to kill with pangas and knives, they do not even know what causes the fights, but they do not care. The respondents in the study also reported that they use the same weapons, like having a physical connection with their opponents while having visible blood in their hands.

4.3.6 The participants’ regrets for getting involved in youth gang violence

All the respondents reported that they regretted getting involved in YGV. The respondents reported that YGV had *psychological and physical effects* on them:

4.3.6.1 Psychological and physical effects

Most of the respondents reported that they *incurred injuries, lost interest in social activities, had criminal records and stigmatisation by community*.

- **Injuries incurred**

Some respondents mentioned that they incurred some injuries while they were involved in YGV. They regretted getting involved in YGV, because of the injuries they incurred and it was hard to forget:

“My regret is that, I was injured on my hand and these things [stitches] do not disappear..... I have an iron.....inside my elbow it broke into half so they needed to attach it together” (R6).

“They stabbed and beat me.... I was admitted in hospital, I was stabbed on Wednesday and I came back Monday the following week... I think of the guy who stabbed me, he still around but I didn't do anything to him.... My mother told me to let him go... When I see him, I feel sick and I don't stay in the same place as him, I just leave, I don't want to look at him because he makes me angry”(R8).

The research data shows that the YGV had dangerous consequences in the lives of the respondents, which left them with bad memories that were hard to forget because of the visible scars they acquired from YGV. Scarpa and Raine (1997 as cited in Field, 2002:236) revealed that “negative emotional effect including depression and anxiety, has also been noted to predispose adolescence to impulsive, antisocial or aggressive behavior via similar mechanism”. In the author's experience of working with young offenders in prison, she observed that young people who have been involved in social ills such as YGV become more aggressive than before, because of the experience they had from the activities such as crime, YGV, etc. Seemingly some of them take a long time to detach such memories, even if they change their behavior.

- **Youth gang violence replaced the respondents' social activities**

Some respondents reported that they spent most of their time in YGV and that affected them deeply. Some of the respondents reported that they were involved in some activities in the community such as playing soccer, YGV replaced their social activities:

“My regrets was to be involved in Gurans, it took things that I loved so much, and made me stopped things that I loved...I used to love to play soccer at Site B, but had to stop, we used to meet for the community organisation called SGC, we were members of this organisation; we loved it and some of us were in leadership, but we started getting scared” (R2).

The research data shows that the respondents' lives were distracted, because of their involvement in YGV. This finding is similar to that of Winton (2005:174), who discovered that "violence had an unsurprisingly negative effect on the development and maintenance of some young people's social networks, restricting the extent to which they participated in social activities outside the home". Therefore, the researcher may reason that some of these young people might have wasted their potential to something that could never benefit them for their future aspirations.

- **Acquiring criminal records**

Some respondents reported that being involved in YGV left them with criminal records. R1 & R14:

"I have a criminal record, and criminal record takes five years, and I was told that I must not offend, because if I do, they will increase my criminal record years and I will be in prison. Now I am counting that I am only left with two years so that my criminal can be erased" (R1).

"I heard that my friend died, I started to be angry, Sister and I started thinking about it and when the guys from Site B came to us, I wanted revenge and I saw myself stabbing someone and when I did that I knew there was no turning back, that's when I got arrested and I failed Grade 10" (R14).

The respondents' statements above show that they stabbed or killed some of their opponents for revenge which resulted in them acquiring criminal records. The research data also shows that 61% of the respondents (see 4.3.5.1 above) stabbed and killed their opponents for revenge, but they never reported their arrest for the crime they committed. Winton (2005) also found that the community felt that the police were afraid of the youth that were involved in violence and the community further perceived the police as both inefficient and untrustworthy.

- **Stigmatisation by community**

Some respondents reported that YGV left them with a stigma from the community, since their fights were witnessed by members of the community most of the time and that gave a bad impression of them (the respondents):

"I regret myself for being involved in Gurans. I should have not started it, because people look at you as 'Gurans' and people are scared of you because they saw you carrying big weapons...They see a killer, someone who is dangerous, you see Sister, someone who is not friendly and who

cannot make friends with anyone, because of who I used to be. I changed and saw my mistakes, but that does not change the way people perceive me” (R17).

“It destroyed us, Sister, this Gurans here in Site B, we are no longer the same people anymore, because most people no longer look at us with same eyes, because when we kill someone and people see that, we can no longer be trusted” (R16).

The research data show that respondents’ past of gang violence will always be attached to them, even if they change their behaviour and become better people. According to Shearar and Graser (2005 as cited in Gxubane, 2012:160) “youth stigmatized by their past offences feel that, if they are not accepted in the community, crime is their only option”. It would therefore seem that even if the respondents try to change, the community will always label them based on what they did. This may force some of the respondents to see no point of doing good rather continue with their bad behaviour.

4.3.7 The participants’ future intentions regarding their involvement in youth gang violence

All the respondents complained about the negative impact of YGV in some aspects of their lives, such as educational attainment, personal lives and their families. Most mentioned *their intention to abandon YGV*.

4.3.7.1 Intentions to abandon youth gang violence

When the respondents were probed about their future intentions regarding their involvement in YGV, most respondents reported that they would *terminate their membership or relocate*.

- **Termination of membership**

Most respondents reported that they would terminate their membership and no longer be part of YGV. The respondents reported that they would focus on their schooling and make peace with their opponents.

“I will not continue with it, because my friends are gone, they are in the grave and I don’t want to be in the grave... Like, Sister, we all know each other and we grew up together, but because of Gurans we became enemies unaware ... I will suggest that, we make peace with our opponents” (R5).

“You can come out, as long as you tell yourself where you are going after you have left Gurans ... once they see that you are not there, they know that you are out of it ... Gurans take much of your time and you don’t get time to study” (R10).

The research data show that YGV had a bad influence in the respondents' lives, which is why some of them were thinking of disconnecting themselves from it. Spergel (1995: 105) also found that "youth reaches a certain point in his social learning or 'growing up' when he realizes there are long-term negative consequences for being a gang member".

- **Relocation**

Some respondents reported that they would rather relocate to other provinces or nearby locations, if it happens that YGV comes back because they do not want to be part of it again. They emphasized that, their lives have turned upside-down and they do not want to go back and be the same people they were in YGV:

"No, Sister... It is like now, all that I have lost, I have restored them. Everything I have lost from Gurans, I got it back ever since it stopped, (yabona) you see. If it starts again, I will have to leave, because you suffer in this Gurans" (R2).

"I will not continue with it... My mother will rather take me to the Eastern Cape and stay there... They (at home) become happy now that they see Gurans has stopped and I am reading my books... (Those who want to join YGV) I will tell them that people die there sister, we are killing each other, there is no time to play.... I have been arrested, but I was arrested for two months... (Killed) a guy from Site B... Yoh, Sister, yoh hayi, I felt bad, it is not nice to be in prison" (R15).

This finding shows that the respondents had no interest of continuing with gang violence, they preferred to relocate rather than staying in YGV and in the author's view, they looked sincere. Robinson-Easley (2012:118) asserted that "youth in gangs are capable of generating alternative ways in which they view their world, and they are equally capable of generating options for change". In simple terms, young people are capable of changing their lives only if they have a room or space to do so. This was the same with the respondents: relocation to another place was an alternative to avoiding their involvement in YGV.

Some of the reasons that would prevent young people who are involved in gang violence from continuing with it would be that they do not have alternative places to relocate to (Spergel, 1995). One of the respondents reported that:

"If I can be able to have access to Phase2 and go my ways or go everywhere, I will not go back Sister, but if I can't go to Phase2 I will have to go back to it Gurans [YGV] and fight, because I

am not free, because the reason I fight is I need to be free and do whatever I want ... because I prefer staying, since I grew up here” (R16).

The findings show that few of the respondents preferred to relocate to continuing with YGV, but R16 preferred to stay in Site B Khayelitsha rather than relocating to another place. It would therefore seem like most of the young people who grew up in Site B were born and raised there, so it was hard for some of them to relocate to other places.

4.3.8 Respondents’ concluding remarks and recommendations

When the researcher probed the respondents whether there was anything that they wanted to add regarding YGV, most of them made the following concluding remarks:

4.3.8.1 Youth gang violence needs to end

Most of the respondents reported that YGV was not worth it and it needed to end, because YGV could lead to imprisonment and/or death *and delays your schooling.*

- **Youth gang violence could lead to imprisonment and/or death**

Some of the respondents reported that some of them ended up in prison and some of them died:

“I don’t want it to continue, Sister.... So many people from our side have died, because of Gurans ... I will tell those who want to join, they must not join, because when you are in Gurans you end up dead or you start robbing people and get arrested.” (R12).

“It needs to stop, because people die there, Sister, we are killing each other, there is no time to play.... I have been arrested, but I was arrested for two months... Killed a guy from Site B... Yoh Sister, yoh hayi I felt bad, it is not nice to be in prison” (R15).

The above statements show that, it appears the respondents would like to have peace and do something different and positive about their lives. This illustrates that some respondents seem to have been gradually aware about the dangerous consequences of their involvement in YGV and sincerely regret being involved in it.

- **Delays your schooling**

Some respondents reported that YGV had delayed their schooling and some eventually dropped out:

"You must know where you going and what you want. If you want to continue with school, don't join Gurans, because if you do, you are lying if you think you can be able to continue with school, you see. I always think on how am I going to reach Grade 12" (R16).

"My friend was stabbed on the head and the knife got stuck in his head, we never thought he will survive, the doctors took it out... and some dropped out of school, and those who dropped out in Grade 12 and they can't go back; they are just in the township doing nothing" (R18).

The findings show that YGV has delayed some of the respondents from completing their studies and therefore delayed the progress of their educational attainment.

4.3.8.2 Young people need to focus on their studies

All of the respondents reported that YGV was dangerous and they would advise other young people not to join, rather *focus on their studies*, because YGV is not worth it:

".....My advice is that we should stop Gurans, because we become stagnant and it is not worth it and it destroys your life, you end-up in prison, prison is not a right place to be. So my advice is that Majitas [guys], let's stop Gurans and to those who are still growing.... Majitas, let's go to school and be a good example to our parents. What I have noticed is that our parents are burying us; it is not us who bury them so that means we need to be a good example to them" (R1).

"You know sister, this Gurans thing is not good and I don't advise young people to join, they must not start, it is better to go to school than not going" (R12).

The research data shows that the respondents would not advise other young people to be involved in YGV, because they might lose focus in their studies. From the author's experience in growing in Khayelitsha, it would seem children from the ages of four years imitate what is happening in gang violence and think that it is a good thing. Hence, Ward, et al. (2012) pointed out that the problems that are faced by children growing up in dysfunctional families, poor performing schools and violent neighbourhoods in South Africa need to be addressed in order to avoid raising another generation of children who see violence as an option to solve their problems.

4.3.9 Conclusion

This chapter presented a profile of the respondents as well as the explanation of the data analysis; it also presented and discussed findings of seven themes of the study. The explanation included tables of the outcome of the coding process and finally a comprehensive discussion of themes, sub-themes, categories including sub-categories. The study revealed that most of the respondents regretted being involved in YGV because it affected their lives. The respondents were not the only ones that were affected by their involvement in YGV, but also their families and education attainment. They suggested that they would not continue with YGV, because they wanted to concentrate on their schooling so that they could reach their future goals. Most respondents perceived education as the only way that could take them to where they wanted to be. The respondents also advised that children should not join YGV, because it was a dangerous activity that could delay the educational attainment of young people.

The next chapter discusses the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this study was to explore Khayelitsha Site B male high school learners' perceived impact of their involvement in YGV on their educational attainment. This chapter presents the main conclusions and recommendations of the study, presented according to the objectives of the study.

5.2 The respondents' goals in life

The findings of this study showed that completing Grade 12 was very important for the youth involved in YGV as they believed that this would enable them to enter higher education. The youth understood that education is a key to unlocking opportunities to help their community. The study further indicated that it was the wish of most of the youth in the study to have professional qualifications. The need to acquire a professional qualification seems to have been the driving force for them to work hard at school. Therefore it can be concluded that the youth were concerned about their future goals in life and they were aware of the importance of education regardless of their involvement in YGV. The study also found that the youth needed both psychological and financial support from their families in order to pursue their dreams. It also appeared from the study that most of the youth came from single-parent households. Therefore it emerged from the study that youth from marginalised communities often face challenges in terms of both financial and psychological support.

Considering the issues discussed above it is therefore recommended that:

- There is a need for a closer collaboration between the parents and the schools in offering psychological support to the youth so that they can realise their goals.
- The government through the Department of Social Development needs to avail more resources to the needy youth in marginalised communities so that they can be skilled developed.

5.3 Respondents' association of their goals in life with educational attainment

The findings of this study showed that the youth associated their goals in life with educational attainment. They believed it was through education that they would be able to achieve their goals. The study further indicated that high school exposed the youth to a number of opportunities and they could make decisions based on their experiences in high school. The findings also showed that YGV negatively affected the

schooling of the youth in terms of attendance and academic performance, because seemingly they were not giving school their full attention as they were always concerned about their safety. On the other hand, the study indicated that fear for their safety often resulted in drop-outs or repeating grades. In addition, the study found that even those youths who did not drop out of school seemed to have difficulties with their school work and were also at risk of dropping out.

Based on the conclusions above, the following recommendations are suggested:

- The government needs to improve the infrastructure in township schools like having durable walls or security fences around the schools to discourage trespassing.
- The police and the community need to form a close alliance in terms of policing, especially around schools to ensure the safety of the learners.
- Associations and other religious groups like the churches need to take advantage of their gatherings to preach peaceful co-existence in the communities.
- Community seminars and workshops which are specifically targeted at the youth, facilitated by key stakeholders such as the police, community and religious leaders could also play a vital role in discouraging YGV.

5.4 The respondents' motivation for getting involved in youth gang violence

The study discovered that the youth had similar reasons for their involvement in YGV. Most of the young people in the study appeared to be tired of being victimised by the opponents and therefore felt it was time for them to belong to the rival group. The study also found that belonging to a particular group was important to the youth as this would guarantee their safety. It would seem from the study that the personal lives of the youth, including that of their families, were affected negatively by YGV. It also emerged from the study that youth involvement in gang violence had the potential of exposing them and their families to more risk to their safety than before.

As a way of discouraging youth involvement in gang violence other recommendations that have been mentioned above in this chapter could help to reduce the YGV.

5.5 The respondents' views on the role of the community in promoting youth gang violence in Khayelitsha

The study found that the community was affected by YGV, which usually took place amongst the rival groups of youth. Interestingly, the study showed that many lives were threatened and somehow Satanism was blamed for the gang violence. Conversely, it also appeared that gang violence was attributed to the

community which seem to condone it. The study found that the community at times showed its support of gang violence through such actions as their failure to restrain the youth from fighting. In some instances community members encourage youth to consult with traditional healers who assured them supernatural powers over others.

It would also appear from the findings of the study that some of the community members had given up on the fight against YGV, even though there were some who were taking initiatives to stop the scourge. Based on this finding, it can be concluded that the Khayelitsha community seem to have no specific and concrete initiatives that could help in preventing or stopping YGV. Furthermore, in view of limited or non-existent recreational facilities, young people are bound to engage in socially unacceptable behaviour.

Based on the conclusion made above, the following are recommended:

- There is a need for programmes such as life skills, youth camps, arts and culture, community violence and gangsterism workshops, to be implemented in Khayelitsha Site B community to reduce the incidence of YGV.
- Any initiative to address YGV has to be taken in partnership with other interventions that are already in existence (see Appendix A).

5.6 The respondents' perceived benefits for their involvement in youth gang violence

The study found that the youth who are engaging in YGV and the possession of dangerous and lethal weapons were associated with power, control and personal victory.

Realising the potential of the young people as agents of change, it is recommended that:

- The schools in their curriculum should acknowledge the youth as assets who can contribute positively to the community, not as troublemakers.
- There is a need for public campaigns and awareness programmes to transform the mind-set of the communities regarding their perceptions of the youth.
- The community should encourage young people to be involved in community programmes such as community policing, sports club association and information centres that will keep them busy.

5.7 The respondents' regrets for getting involved in youth gang violence

The study also found that in as much as the youth were involved in gang violence, they also regretted being part of it. It would appear that the youth were stuck in a situation they found difficult to get out of.

Based on the conclusion made above, the following is recommended:

- The youth should be empowered through community programmes facilitated by professionals such as the social workers, the police and other influential community leaders to be assertive.
- The parents, on the other hand, also need to be encouraged through community meetings and schools to be actively involved the lives of their children, thus enforcing a positive and healthy parent-child relationship.

5.8 The respondents' future intentions regarding their involvement in youth gang violence

The findings showed that the youth in the study wanted to terminate their involvement in gang violence or to relocate to other places. The young people felt that YGV wasted their time, for example by getting delayed in their educational attainment, acquiring criminal charges, and also lost their friends in gang violence. It would therefore seem that the YGV has rather caused a great deal of damage in their personal lives. Seemingly the boldness of the youth respondents in the study to disconnect themselves from gang violence shows that they can be the agents of their own change if only they practise what they say.

5.9 Respondents' concluding remarks

The findings showed that the youth in the study preferred the YGV to come to an end. The study further showed that the youth encouraged other young people to stay out of gang violence and focus on their studies. The findings revealed that the youth respondents in this study saw education as the only way that could help the youth to achieve their goals in life. Of interest in the study was the fact that those who were involved in gang violence in as much as they were engaged in this social ill, they recognised the importance of education and hence they wanted to be given a second chance to make their dreams to come a reality.

5.10 Recommendations for further research

The research was conducted in Khayelitsha Site B on a small sample of eighteen youth involved in gang violence. Considering that the sample was small, there is a need to carry out the same research on a larger scale that would include most communities that are affected by YGV in Cape Town. This would give a broader in-depth insight into the problem of YGV in marginalised communities and the impact it has on educational attainment of young people.

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APPENDIX A

Strategic interventions against gang violence in South Africa

- **High Flyer Project**

The High Flyer project is collaboration between the South African Police Services (SAPS), National Prosecution Authority (NPA), South African Revenue Services (SARS), Department of Community Safety (DOCS) and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), (Department of Community Safety, 2008). The City of Cape Town planned in 2012 to set aside R20 million to crack down on gangs and the drug trade. It was reported in the Cape Times newspaper that this budget is four times the amount spent in 2011, (News24, 06 September 2012). The increase of budget in reducing the gangs also needs these different role players to work with determination to fight this problem. Even though the project has a strong body it cannot fight gang violence without the support of community members and other projects like Chrysalis Academy.

- **Chrysalis Academy**

Chrysalis Youth Academy is a secondary prevention service which deals not only with the victim of violence, but also involve the family as part of creating a free safety environment after the young person has finished with the programme. It is a high-dose programme that includes an emphasis on youth employment skills and parent training, that is a range of risk factors (Ward et. Al., 2012). Although the programme was recognized in 2006 as the best practice example in youth crime prevention, there is still a need to deal with mindset of youth after they have left the academy (Ward et al., 2012). In doing so, it needs collaboration from other programmes that are aligned with fighting gang violence, like Bambanani.

- **Bambanani Against Crime Community Mobilization**

The Bambanani programme has been recognized as one of the most visible interventions in the Western Cape. It mobilizes communities, civil society and other government sectors to co-ordinate their programmes towards an integrated strategy to reduce crime (Department of Community Safety, 2008). This programme could be a tertiary prevention services, targets gang members and recruits directly to rehabilitate or incapacitate youth. According to Ward (2010), the Bambanani School Safety Strategy, was established in 2005, which recruits, trains and supports volunteers from local communities to patrol schools to improve school safety. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2010), having these initiatives in place is a good sign of promoting youth development. It is important to note that formulating youth policies that are not linked to their needs results in youth marginalisation, which leads to destruction, corruption and failure which prevents

development. Although there are a number of intervention programmes around the issue of youth gang violence, it can be argued that there is a lot that needs to be done to impact gang violence reduction through developmental strategies in South Africa. Similarly, the influence of different stakeholders (Civil Society, Community members, department of community safety and the government at large) may or may not have addressed this problem properly.

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Department of Social Development

COVER LETTER

Dear Participant

I am a student currently registered for a Master's Degree in Social Development Department, University of Cape Town. I am researching youth gang violence in Khayelitsha Township as part of the partial fulfilment of my studies. The focus of my study is to explore Khayelitsha Site B high school aged males (14-21 years) perceived impact of their involvement in youth gang violence on their educational attainment.

Please note that participation in this study is **voluntary**. All information obtained will be strictly **confidential** and you are not required to identify yourself by name. You are requested to be as honest as possible when responding to the questions asked in the interview. There are no wrong or right answers. Your contribution towards the study will help provide a better understanding of youth gang violence in Khayelitsha and the perceived impact on education attainment.

Thank you for your willingness to participate.

Sisanda Mguzulwa

APPENDIX C

RESEARCH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PARTICIPANTS' PROFILE

1. Age of the respondents

- a) How old are you?
- b) Age at which you started getting involved in youth gang violence, why?

2. Educational History

- a) Which grade are you in?
- b) Have you ever repeated any grade?
 - Probe - If Yes, which one? Why?
 - Probe - If No, Why not?
- c) Which subjects do you like most?
 - Probe - Why?
- d) Which subject do you dislike?
 - Probe - Why?

3. Family Composition

- a) Who are you living with?
- b) Who provides for your needs?
- c) Does this person satisfy you in meeting all your needs?
 - Probe - if Yes, why?
 - Probe - if No, why?
- d) What sibling number are you in your family?
- e) How many children are there in your family?

4. Proximity to the school

- a) How far are you living from school?
- b) How do you travel to school?
- c) Do you travel with anyone to school?
 - Probe - if Yes, who? Why?

- Probe - if No, why not?
- d) Have you ever been expelled from school?
- Probe – if yes, why?
 - Probe – if no, why not?

5. Relationships

- a) Do you have friends?
- Probe – if yes, who? Why?
 - Probe – if no, who? Why not?
- b) Who do you consider your best friend, if any, why?
- c) Which learner do you dislike at school, if any, why?

THEMES OF THE STUDY

8. The participants' goals in life.

- a) What do you want to be in the future?
- Probe – why do you want to be that?
- b) How are you going to get there?
- c) What do you need to get there?
- d) Do you see yourself getting there?
- Probe – if yes, why?
 - Probe – if no, why not?

9. Participants' association of their goals in life with educational attainment.

- a) What impact does youth gang violence have on your educational attainment?
- b) Do you want to pass grade 12?
- Probe – if yes, why?
 - Probe – if no, why not?
- c) Do you think high school education is important in your life?
- Probe – if yes, why?
 - Probe – if no, why not?
- d) Does your involvement in youth gang violence affect your schooling?
- Probe – if yes, why?
 - Probe – if no, why not?

10. The participants' motivation in getting involved in youth gang violence.

- a) What motivated you to join youth gang violence?
- b) Does being involved in youth gang violence affect your life?
 - Probe – if yes, why?
 - Probe – if no, why not?
- c) How does your family feel about your involvement in youth gang violence?
 - Probe – How do they relate to you?

11. The participants' views on the role of the community in promoting youth gang violence in Khayelitsha.

- a) What are your views about youth gang violence in Khayelitsha?
- b) What is happening in the community do you think promotes youth gang violence?

12. The participants' perceived benefits for their involvement in youth gang violence.

- a) What are your gains for getting involved in youth gang violence?
 - Probe - if yes, what?
 - Probe – if no, why?

13. The participants' regrets for getting involved in youth gang violence.

- a) Do you regret getting involved in youth gang violence?
 - Probe – if yes, why?
 - Probe – if no, why?

14. The participants' future intentions regarding their involvement in youth gang violence.

- a) Do you intend to continue be part of youth gang violence?
 - Probe – if yes, why?
 - Probe – if no, why not?

15. What else would you like to share with me regarding the topic of youth gang violence in Khayelitsha that we did not discuss in the interview?

Thank you so much for your participation and your time. It is much appreciated.